

VOTES FOR WOMEN

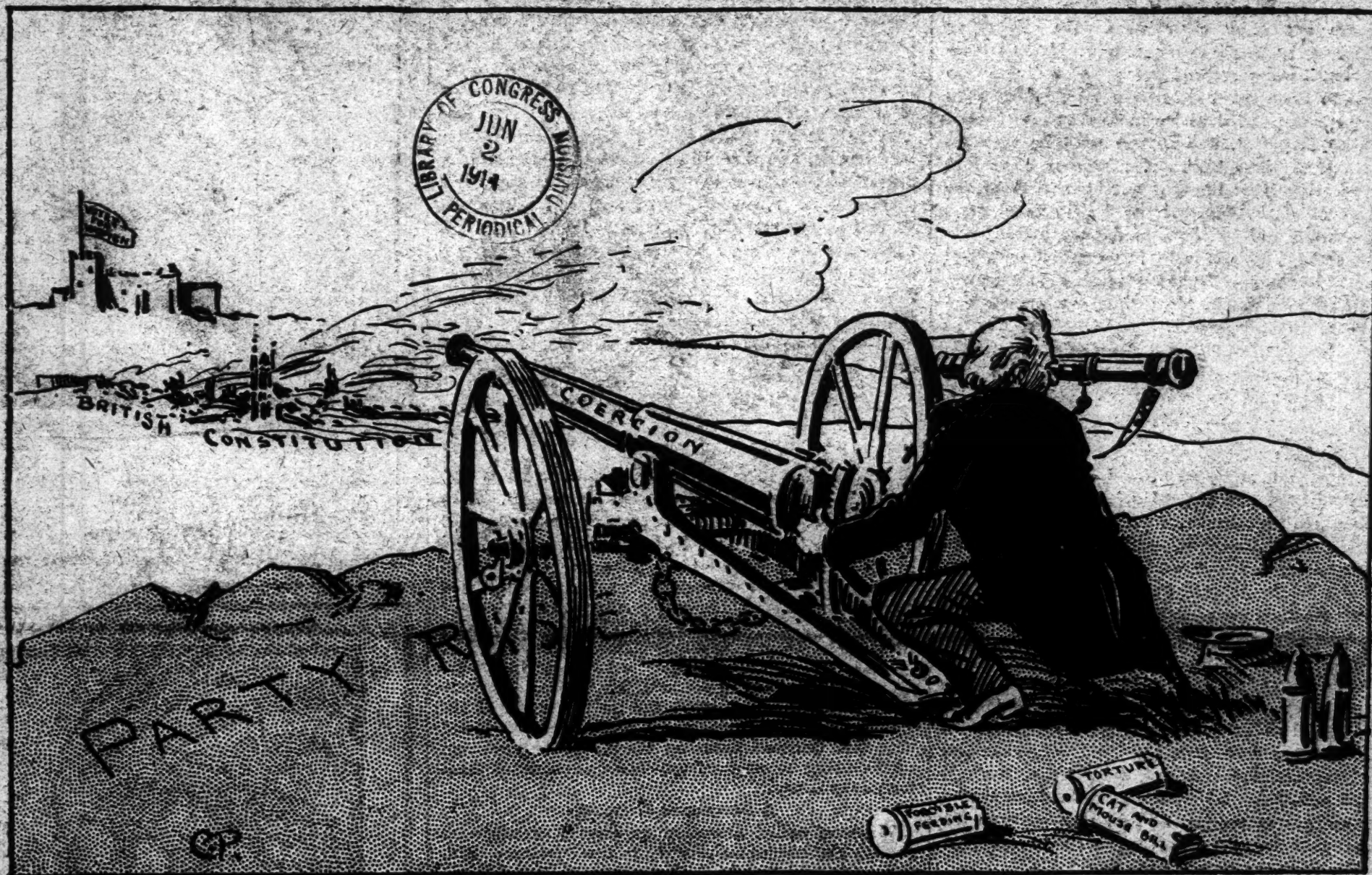
EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE UNCONQUERABLE



MR. ASQUITH (looking through his new Range-Finder): "I can't manage to get the range of that fort!"

(At Aldershot, last Monday, Mr. Asquith, the War Minister, was initiated by a corporal into the mysteries of a new range-finder)

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper

THE OUTLOOK

Several months ago the Women's Social and Political Union sent a letter to the King asking him to receive a deputation which desired to lay before him the grievances of women and the refusal of the Government to rectify them. The King, acting, no doubt, on the advice of his Ministers, refused this request. The W.S.P.U. thereupon expressed their regret at this decision, but stated their intention of proceeding nevertheless. The deputation was timed

to take place on Thursday, May 21, at 4 p.m., after we went to press.

The Sovereign's Position

Though there are definite precedents for the reception by the reigning sovereign of deputations of subjects who have grievances to lay before them, there is no doubt that such a step would be unusual and exceptional to-day. The circumstances, however, which have led up to the present position, are themselves so unusual and exceptional that in our view the sovereign would be well advised to allow the deputation to proceed and to receive them. It must be remembered that women are outside the Constitution, and that they have for many years endeavoured in vain to induce Parliament to grant them the position of citizens. Furthermore, the House of Commons and the Ministers of the Crown have been guilty of the most flagrant chicanery in dealing with this question. Women claim, therefore, that they are in the same position as men were over a century ago, and that they have a right to resort to ancient methods of procedure.

What is Likely to Happen

The greatest secrecy has been preserved both by the W.S.P.U. as to the point of meeting of the deputation and of the route to be adopted, and by the authorities as to what steps they propose to take to deal with it; but there is reason to fear that repressive measures will be taken. If that be the case, we shall once more be faced with scenes in the streets in which the police

use violence against unarmed women, followed by arrests and police court proceedings for technical offences.

The Duty of the Public

A responsibility rests on the public, and particularly on those who disapprove of the more aggressive acts of militancy, to insist, firstly, that neither uniformed nor plain clothes police shall exceed their duty on the day; secondly, that technical offences committed for a political object shall be treated as such in the courts; and thirdly, that the scandal of the continued disfranchisement of women, which is the cause of the whole trouble, shall be brought to an end without any further delay.

An Object Lesson from Australia

In reference to this deputation and the countless previous deputations to Mr. Asquith, which during the past nine years have been over and over again treated with violence, it is interesting to note that in Australia, where women vote, a deputation of women which persisted in their intention of interviewing the Australian Premier, in spite of his original refusal to receive them, was ultimately admitted to an audience. We refer our readers to page 517 of this issue, in which further particulars of this interesting event are recorded.

Women and Scottish Home Rule

On Friday last the Scottish Home Rule Bill was debated in the House of Commons. The discussion is of interest to suffragists in view of the fact that one of the clauses provides for the inclusion of women

among the electorate for the Scottish Parliament. Several of the members who spoke expressed their regret at the existence of this clause, but it was supported by Mr. Balfour, Mr. McKinnon Wood, and by the Marquess of Tullibardine (an anti-suffragist so far as the Imperial Parliament is concerned). In the end, the Speaker refused the closure, and therefore no division on the second reading was taken.

Mrs. Humphry Ward's Letter

On the morning previous to the discussion in the Commons a letter appeared in the *Times* over the signature of Mrs. Humphry Ward, in which she stated that if a federal scheme of government for the Empire were adopted she would support the enfranchisement of women for the subordinate Parliaments, while continuing to oppose it for the Imperial Parliament. She asked for the co-operation of suffragists to secure such a "settlement by consent," and an assurance that "the line of demarcation between such local assemblies and the Central Imperial Parliament would be loyally accepted and observed."

The Suffragist Reply

We are not quite clear what Mrs. Humphry Ward means by this last suggestion. If she is concerned lest having secured her support for woman suffrage in the local Parliaments we shall contrive to alter the scope of these bodies so that they become in reality Imperial, our answer must be that the limitations of these bodies if they ever come into being at all will be imposed not by us but by the Government of the day. If she desires us to make a compromise and to abandon for the present our fight for the Imperial vote for women, as would appear to be the case from her further contribution to the *Times* on Wednesday, then our answer can only be a direct refusal. We print Mrs. Ward's letter in full on page 516, and also replies from Mrs. Fawcett and Lady Willoughby de Broke. Our own views will be found in our leading article.

Women in Norway

In view of the attempt which Mrs. Ward is making to distinguish between women's local and national enfranchisement, and the somewhat similar attempt being made in the columns of the *Times* and elsewhere to distinguish between the general progress of the woman's movement and woman suffrage itself, we would direct the attention of our readers to the interesting article contained in the *Times* Norwegian supplement of Monday last, in which Mrs. Clara Thue Ebbell sketches out the progress of women in that country. It will be seen that women have obtained since 1884 a steady advance, and that among the incidents of that progress must be enumerated firstly the municipal suffrage; secondly, the partial national suffrage; and finally, the full national suffrage. He would be a bold man who would venture to suggest that in that country the suffrage victories were to be classed in different categories from the victories in other fields.

The Nationality of Wives and Widows

We are glad to see that several members of Parliament raised their voices in protest against the clauses in the Nationality Bill, by which a British woman automatically loses her nationality on marrying a foreigner, and remains an alien even after the death of her husband. Mr. Glyn Jones, Mr. Dickinson, and Mr. Harvey expressed their strong disapproval of the embodiment of this archaic custom in a modern Act of Parliament, and showed the hardship involved thereby upon poor women who are in consequence debarred in their old age from claiming a pension. In view of this expression of opinion, Mr. Harcourt, who is in charge of the Bill, undertook "to consider carefully the point, and, if possible, to meet the objections." This was followed by a strong speech from Mr. Booth, who described the proposed clauses as "voicing the conditions of an Eastern Harem," and "perpetuating the idea that woman is the slave and chattel of a man as soon as she is married to him." He added that he withdrew his opposition for the present only on the strength of the Colonial Secretary's promise to reconsider the question. We print on page 517 a cable from Miss Goldstein announcing a strong vote taken at a public meeting of citizens in Melbourne condemning these clauses in the Bill.

The Income Tax of Married Couples

In spite of protest from Mr. Cassel and Mr. Sanderson on the floor of the House of Commons, Mr. Lloyd George is obdurate in his refusal to remove the glaring injustice of taxing the aggregated income of married couples and giving only a single abatement. He repeated again that in his view the ques-

tion was one of "the income available for running the household." A single fact, as we have shown, disposes of this argument. The incomes of any two other persons living together and pooling their resources—mother and daughter, father and son, two brothers, or even a man and a woman living together, but not legally married—are not thus aggregated; the present arrangement constitutes, therefore, a marriage-tax pure and simple. Mr. Lloyd George states that he has some proposal to make later dealing with this question in another way. We shall await with interest his proposition, but we are satisfied that no arrangement, except the separation of the incomes of man and wife for the purpose of income-tax, can be really satisfactory.

Who Can be Made to Pay?

In the meanwhile an interesting point raised by Mrs. Ayres Purdie has been decided in the courts against married women by Mr. Justice Rowlatt. In view of the law that the income of a married woman living with her husband is regarded for the purpose of income-tax as the income of her husband, married women have already successfully upheld their right to refuse to make a return of their income gained professionally or to pay income-tax upon it. Mrs. Purdie claimed that this rule applied also in the case of incomes of married women derived (a) from investments in English companies and (b) from foreign investments, and that where income-tax had been deducted at the source in these cases she was entitled to recover it. The court decided against her on the ground apparently that the payer of income-tax was not really the woman, but the company in case (a), and the English banker in the case of foreign investments. This decision seems to us to involve some skating over thin ice on the part of the authorities, and other cases bearing on the point may come into court later.

The Bye-Elections

North-east Derbyshire is polling as we go to press and the result will be known to our reader by the time this paper is in their hands. Ipswich polls on Saturday. We hope very much that the electors will see their way to keeping out Mr. Masterman. As a Liberal who, while professing to be a suffragist, voted against the Conciliation Bill, and secured its defeat in 1912, as a member of the Government which has blocked women's enfranchisement and has adopted hateful methods of coercion against women, as the Minister who has been himself in his capacity at the Home Office a direct advocate of forcible feeding, Mr. Masterman has shown himself to be the insidious foe of women. Of his opponents, Mr. Scurr definitely denounces the Government for its treatment of the whole woman suffrage issue, while we understand that Mr. Ganzoni takes up the ambiguous position of declining to support any suffrage measure until militancy ceases.

A Dangerous Proposal

We have called attention on several occasions to the dangerous clauses already in the Prisoners' Bill, and expressed our hope that other M.P.s will join with Mr. Wedgwood in resisting their passage into law. We desire to add to this a word of protest against an amendment which is being proposed by Mr. Lewis Haslam, to the effect that in certain sex cases the public shall be excluded, with the possible exception of the Press and of one female relative or friend of the girl who is concerned in the case, and that even this relative or friend shall only be admitted if the court is willing to do so. In view of the fact that judge, jury, counsel, and all officials of the court are men, as well as practically all the Press reporters, this is an attempt in a new form to try these cases before a solely male audience. We believe that nothing is to be gained by this exclusion of the public, and that the important effect of the newly-awakened public opinion of women will be lost. We regard it, therefore, as urgent that this clause should be rejected. On the other hand, we regret, in the interests both of women and of humanity, that Sir William Byles' proposed clause was rejected, by which power would have been given to a judge to abstain in certain cases from pronouncing sentence of death, these cases, as he explained, being those of young unmarried mothers on whom there was no likelihood of the sentence being carried out.

Items of Interest

We print in another column an account of the successful and enthusiastic meeting held by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in Dublin on Thursday in last week. Mrs. Lawrence spoke again in Bo'ness, West Lothian, last Tuesday, and will, in conjunction with Mr. Lanebury, address an audience in Tranent Town Hall, Haddington, on Monday next.

A public meeting of the United Suffragists is being held on Thursday (after we have gone to press) in the Portman Rooms. Already all the tickets for the large hall have been sold out, and only a few for the overflow meeting are left. We shall give a full account of the meeting in our issue next week.

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AT THE PLAY

"Break the Walls Down" at the Savoy

As civilisation grows more complicated and as the claims of women to an increasing share of its manifold interests and possibilities become more insistent, it is natural that the woman's point of view should demand and receive more and more consideration. It is unquestioned that these fresh claims add deep interest at the moment to literature, the drama, and to all our sociological developments. If there be command or exhortation in the French adage, *Cherchons la femme*, we hardly need it at the moment; the lady is willing, nay, anxious, to come to the front. It is thus that M. Brioux draws attention in "Les Avariés" and other plays to some of her elementary rights in matrimony. It is significant that the very day the present writer saw Mrs. Gross's play, one of our chief London dailies had a review of Mr. Frank Layton's play, "Philip's Wife," dealing with the same subject as M. Brioux, written at a time when the English physician was unaware that the French writer had treated the same theme. Both men took up the subject because of the pitiful ignorance of the victims, the magnitude of the evil, the taboo under which it rests, the profound injury to the race. But in plays with a purpose, as in novels, the base of interest is somewhat narrow from the viewpoint of the general public, and it must be confessed that whether men or women write them, the sense of humour is usually too much in abeyance. One great thing all "purposeful" dramatists and novelists do is to prepare society for great changes in the position of women that have even now taken place in certain grades of society, that are taking place in others, and that will and must take place even among the classes that now oppose or are indifferent to such changes.

A Good Theme

Mrs. Gross very rightly demands a bigger place in the world for women "to bustle in"; their character and individuality cannot for ever be overshadowed or crowded out by the lordly male. It is a good theme and well that it should be thrust under the gaze of unwilling observers. Mr. Patrick Benfré, "something in the City," whose affairs have got into dreadful disorder, and who much needs time to meet his numerous money engagements, is the good old husband and heavy father of comedy, much addicted to theorising on woman's sphere. His wife, when their only child, Madge, goes to Girton, finding time hang heavy on her hands, with two domestics to work the villa at Chislehurst, starts a "Modes et Robes" business in Hanover Square and earns £5,000 a year, unknown to her husband. He employs a detective to watch her extraordinary movements in the West End, her frequent absences from home and her lengthy interviews with Mme. D'Anglice's great costume designer, Kárpát. The play opens with this development of Mr. Benfré's suspicions, and with Madge's return from Girton. Like a wise girl, she elects to join her mother in the business, and not waste her beauty and brilliance on earning £100 a year after an admirable education at Girton.

At least a century separates Benfré ideas, male and female, on woman's place and education, and their various standpoints present contrasts of deep interest. Suffragists must go and study them in their thousands; for anti-suffragists they would prove even more useful. Some of the play, of all plays, is *vieux jeu*; but the scene of Benfré's creditors is a new one, and in many respects it is admirably conceived and rendered. On the other hand, one could wish that the play were more dramatic, better fused, and that some of its scenes and incidents were more convincing. Mrs. Benfré comes to her husband's rescue against his will, compounds with his creditors for an immediate payment of 10s. in the £ of their claims, to be followed by a second sum of equal amount at a later date.

Some Defects

But why make him ignorant of the existence of this business? Psychology and knowledge of life and probability are alike opposed to this (quite unnecessary) detail. Mr. and Mrs. Benfré could hardly live together twenty years without his character accommodating itself to hers in a more marked degree. And Madge, their daughter, a part taken by a clever young actress of promise, Miss Irene McLeod, needs a few more subtle touches to show that a three years' course at Girton will inevitably leave its mark on a young woman of her capacity. And many will think that when Mme. D'Anglice goes unmasked and unwanted to the meeting of her husband's creditors, a different and much less *voyant* costume and head-gear would be more consonant with the state of affairs, would better and more convincingly illustrate the fact that she is a keen and capable business woman. The essence of dress is suitability: one does

not attend a meeting of a husband's creditors in the costume of a garden party. Benfré's reconciliation with his wife, which ought to be the culminating point of the play, is too rapid and complete, not sufficiently led up to. The playwright's art is extraordinarily difficult; we hope Mrs. Gross will give us other plays, for she has something to say well worthy our attention. The walls of the particular Jericho she and we would fain batter down will need more battering-rams than one. There are men joining in the onslaught, but the main attack must ever rest on women's energy, capacity, determination. Great praise is due to the actors for their rendering of this play.

C. S. Bremner.

"Pygmalion" at His Majesty's

It was Pope who observed that most women have no character. Mr. Shaw's women do not suffer in this way: it is a case of *autres temps, autres mœurs*. And thus it is that if the plot of "Pygmalion" is a little unconvincing, the by-play and interplay are always interesting, amusing, and occasionally fascinating. Sir Herbert Tree as the acute phonetician, who can distinguish the various accents of Earl's Court, Mayfair, Hoxton, Battersea, and so forth, displays his usual consummate skill. The flower-girl with whom he experiments is Mrs. Patrick Campbell, and she has very little idea of accepting with becoming meekness and charming feminine submission the largely passive rôle her protector has designed for her. Her ascent on the ladder of polite speech and behaviour (what a poor thing at times is its last and highest rung in certain circles, by the way!), her visit to Mrs. Higgins, *mère*, and the awful, blood-curdling slip into what Sir Walter Besant termed the Universal Adjective, prove that the part is well within Mrs. Patrick Campbell's scope; she gives it an admirable rendering. All grades and kinds of workers in the woman movement would do well to see this play, for reasons various and too numerous to detail here. Eliza Doolittle's father, an excellent specimen of the undeserving poor, makes an unforgettable figure in the play, out-heroding all the dustmen "we" have ever seen or conversed with. More than a word of praise is due to the refined interpretation of Miss R. Mayne-Young's Mrs. Higgins. Miss Margaret Busse's part, though small, is well done, and she is certainly a young actress of promise.

Pygmalion chiselled a woman's statue according to his own conception of what she should be, and Aphrodite, at his prayer, endowed her with life. It was well; there have been countless throngs of the man-made women. The title of the play naturally suggests, and Eliza Doolittle emphasises the idea, that another day has dawned when the feminine attitude will hardly be that passive one of Pygmalion's statue.

C. S. B.

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PAPER-SELLING REPORT

A fresh pitch has been started. There has also been a response to the appeal for new sellers.

Miss Beagley, captain of Wood Green pitch, writes that it is working up, and that some business women are giving up time to it. A friend of hers, Miss Whitelaw, has started a Camden Town pitch, outside the Tube station. Both captains want more help, however, and any volunteers dwelling in or near either district are urged to send in their names at once to the Paper-selling Organiser.

THE RIGHT OF PETITION

To the Editors of VOICES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—It is announced that on May 21 a deputation of women will seek audience of the King for the purpose of presenting a petition—a constitutional act for which there is historical precedent, and one which, in the case of women, has not lost weight or value, as in the case of men, through any subsequent Act of enfranchisement.

Women stand to-day in precisely the same relation to the Constitution—namely, outside of it—as they did when men who were voteless fought and died to make their own right of personal petition effective. Such a right, to be effective, must also have in it the power to be embarrassing. If it has not that power it is worthless for the defence of liberty or the calling to account of negligent authority. Yet because of its embarrassing nature to a Government which denies representation to women, this act of constitutional protest, both when directed toward Ministers in the past and when directed toward the Throne to-day, has been labelled as an act of "Militancy," and disowned by faint-hearted "Constitutionals."

There are many who believe, on the contrary, that it is an act essentially constitutional in character, who believe also that the insistence of women upon their right of personal petition is the most active form of constitutional agitation left to them. May one not ask, therefore, at this juncture, in what spirit the Government intends to meet the recurrence of this protest, now that it has turned from the rebuffs and denials of the Ministry to the Crown itself? Are the petitioners to be treated as exercising that germ of constitutional right out of which in this country men's political liberties sprung, or as disorderly persons and criminals? Because the

literal fulfilment of the old right is embarrassing, is it therefore to be treated as lawless?

In substance this petition will be the same as that which the King's Ministers, who are themselves unrepresentative of women, have again and again refused to consider or give effect to. But they have, as representatives of men, advised the King not to receive the deputation; and we are warned in consequence to expect that militancy on the part of the Government will be used once again to suppress the only effective (and embarrassing) form of protest left to the voteless under the terms of the Constitution.

It is not an answer to their claim to say that these women have no right to name their own day and hour for approaching the Crown. They have named their day because—though they asked for it—no day was named to them. Their claim was not even put off; it was ignored and denied. Yet it stands to-day on exactly the same ground as the claim of the men who were voteless in the seventeenth century; and if the authorities to-day employ police regulations devised in the nineteenth century, over the heads and without the voice of women, in order to make their act seem lawless, will they not be guilty of the same kind of political oppression as was the authority which resisted, in the seventeenth century, the development of representative Government?

Between the Crown and the male electorate Government and Parliament stand to-day representatively; between the Crown and women they stand unrepresentatively. Direct access to the Crown is, therefore, as important to women to-day as it was in the past to men.—Yours, &c.,

Laurence Housman.

Kensington, May 18, 1914.

WOMEN AND SCOTTISH VOTES

Debate in the House—Mrs. Humphry Ward's Suggested Compromise—Suffragist Replies

THE SUFFRAGE CLAUSE

Clause 7, sub-section (6) of the Government of Scotland Bill runs as follows:—

7.—(6) Every woman who—

if she were a man would be entitled to be registered as a Parliamentary elector in respect of a household qualification within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act, 1884; or is the wife of a man entitled to be registered in respect of a household qualification, and has resided in the qualifying premises during the period required by law to enable a person to be so registered to vote in the election of members of the Scots Parliament in the constituency where the qualifying premises are situate.

Provided that—

(a) a woman shall not be entitled to be registered unless she has attained the age of twenty-five years; and

(b) a woman shall not be disqualified by reason of marriage from being registered and voting.

THE DEBATE

Before the second reading of the Government of Scotland Bill was moved last Friday in the House of Commons, Mr. Booth rose on a point of order, and asked the Speaker two questions, the second of these referring to the Woman Suffrage clause in the Bill, which we give above. He said:—

"I wish to ask you, further, whether your attention has been called to Clause 7, Sub-section (6), which was not included in the Bill of last year, and to the statement by friends of the Bill, that the inclusion or deletion of those provisions is practically a Committee point, and whether the alteration of the franchise by extending it proposed by the Bill as it now stands will not be such a vital alteration as to make the Bill practically a different measure from that submitted for Second Reading?"

"Too Hypothetical"

The Speaker in his reply said:—

"I think the question of the hon. member for Pontefract is rather too hypothetical. It presupposes, first, that this Bill will be passed; secondly, that it will go to a Standing Committee; and thirdly, that that Standing Committee will make an alteration in it. My answer would depend on what happens, and I had better wait until I see the Bill back. It is perfectly obvious that Clause 7, Sub-section (6), is a very important part of the Bill, and if that were struck out, the general provision in the Bill would be very different from what it is at the present moment. I cannot say further than that."

It will be remembered that on the occasion of the Government's Franchise Bill last year, the Speaker ruled that to insert a Woman Suffrage clause in Committee would make the Bill a new one, and it was on account of his ruling that the Bill was dropped. Mr. Booth apparently wished to ascertain whether a similar ruling would be given in the case of a Bill from which the Woman Suffrage clause had been abstracted.

SUFFRAGE ALLUSIONS IN THE DEBATE

In moving the Second Reading, Mr. Macpherson mentioned that there was this year a new Clause introduced into the Bill, "at the request of the majority of the Scottish members (an hon. member: 'Not of a majority?')"

Mr. William Young, who seconded, attacked the Woman Suffrage clause, saying: "Why should this Parliament dictate to the people of Scotland any more than it did in the case of Ireland—though I admit the same supremely undemocratic line of action was attempted by suffragists in the case of the Irish Home Rule Bill—whether they are to grant the Parliamentary franchise to women or not? That surely is a matter which ought to be left to the people of Scotland themselves, and when they get their national Parliament, as I sincerely hope they will, then if a majority in favour of Woman Suffrage is to be found in that Parliament, I for one shall have very little to say with regard to it."

"The Influence of their Obsession"

Proceeding, Mr. Young said the clause was only approved by a small majority

at a meeting of Scottish members at which less than half of the total number of Liberal members were present; and he denied that the proposal to extend the franchise to women was supported by a majority of Scottish M.P.s, or of the Scottish people or of Scotswomen. Suffragists, "both male and female," he declared, "appear to be under the dominating influence of their obsession, and they are not only prepared to wreck this measure, but they are even prepared to disintegrate and ruin the Liberal party itself."

"It is a Scottish Joke"

Finally, he reserved his right, supposing the Clause were not deleted, to vote against the Third Reading. Mr. James Hogge, who asked whether he was "seconding this Bill," was informed by the Speaker, amid laughter, that Mr. Young was "seconding the Bill, but not the whole Bill." Whereupon Mr. Hogge observed sardonically that he supposed it was "a Scottish joke."

FURTHER SPEECHES

The rest of the debate was another evidence, of which we have had others recently, of the way in which Parliamentary business is held up through the refusal of the Government to settle the question of votes for women. The debate, in fact, became at moments a sort of wrangle over the women's claim to enfranchisement, and the Bill was finally talked out, largely, if not wholly, because this was the easiest way of disposing of the contentious clause.

"Double Darkness"

Mr. Mackinder, calling the Bill "a leap into the dark," declared that its promoters were leaping "into double darkness and attempting to push their tyranny still further by imposing Women Franchise upon Scotland."

"It Defies Nature"

Mr. Watson was of opinion that the Clause was only put in "to make sure that there shall not be too enthusiastic a majority, if a majority at all, for the Second Reading to-day. It is very striking the way it is put in, because it defies Nature and declares that a woman is to be held as a man."

Mr. Eugene Wason failed to understand why the Clause was inserted at all. He had been a supporter of Woman Suffrage once (these lifelong supporters!), but "so long as women continue to pursue the course they are now following," and so on.

Another Federal "Anti"

The Marquess of Tullibardine had some difficulty in getting on with his speech through the interruptions of members whom he credited with the intention of voting against the Bill, whereas, they hastened to assure him, they were only opposed to the woman's clause in it. Having finally got under way, in the course of several frivolous remarks he made a statement that was apparently serious to the effect that, although "a strong anti-Suffragist in the Imperial Parliament, I am not prepared to say anything against Woman Suffrage for a local Parliament. That is about the only part of the Bill which I might be in favour of."

Mr. Clyde, commenting on members' opposition to Woman Suffrage, was reminded by Mr. Young that "Scottish Home Rule does not mean Woman Suffrage," and exclaimed, "That is the exact measure and value of their lifelong devotion to the cause of Home Rule! Apparently it is not worth the risk of a country woman putting her vote into the ballot box on a question which affects her status or is detrimental to her employment!"

MR. BALFOUR

Mr. Balfour, attacking the Bill, approved of the Suffrage clause, saying: "I am very glad that that provision has been put into the Bill although I do not think the Bill is one which either can or will, in anything like its present state, ever receive the assent of this House. I do not know that it is more than a general tribute paid by hon. members opposite to an important cause."

MR. MCKINNON WOOD

Mr. McKinnon Wood expressed himself in agreement with Mr. Balfour on this point, "although in this matter I can no more speak for my colleagues on this bench than he can for those with whom he sits—but I share his hope that the question of the admission of women to the vote in regard to subordinate legislatures might have been separated by friends of women suffrage from the larger question of their vote for the Imperial Parliament."

TALKED OUT

The Speaker refusing to accept the closure, the Bill was talked out, Sir George Younger being still speaking when the debate stood adjourned.

COMMENTS FROM THE PRESS

Lobby Correspondents

The London correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* and the writer of the Political Notes in the *Daily News* are agreed in thinking that the Speaker refused to grant the closure because, as the latter puts it, "the root-principle of the measure had been complicated by the questions of Women's Suffrage and Federalism."

LEADING ARTICLES

"How Long . . . ?"

The Bill as a whole may not be admirable, but this part of it is, and we trust it will survive in all future and amended Bills for giving Scotsmen more power to their elbows.—*Manchester Guardian*.

Jam of the Future

Probably the Speaker's decision was rendered easier by the fact that the supporters and backers of the Bill were themselves at open variance on this most important and new feature of it. On the whole, it would have been wiser to have left women's suffrage in Scotland, as it has been left in the case of Ireland, to the national Parliament. In Scotland, at any rate, we should have no doubt about the result.—*Daily Chronicle*.

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS AND THE FEDERAL VOTE

The following letter from Mrs. Humphry Ward appeared in the *Times* on May 15:—

"Sir,—I have been asked as an anti-suffragist to express an opinion on the question of giving votes to women for the various subordinate Legislatures that might arise in these islands were the Federalist schemes now so much talked of to take shape and being."

"The Scottish Home Rule Bill, which will be up for second reading to-morrow in the House of Commons, brings the matter into prominence. I can of course pledge no one but myself. But the solution of the woman suffrage problem has long lain for me—as for your former correspondents, Sir West Ridgeway and Sir Ronald Munro Ferguson—in the division which Federal development would make possible between enlarged local assemblies, with local legislative powers, and the Central Imperial Parliament. That women should ultimately have equal rights with men over the whole social and domestic sphere of delegated power covered by these local assemblies of the future, and that men only should possess the Imperial vote, and sit in the Imperial Parliament, is surely a distribution of responsibilities which corresponds broadly to the natural differences between the sexes. The control of the central machine—of the physical force, the finance, diplomacy, and colonial relations of the Empire and the final decision in all disputes which could not be settled by the Federal bodies—would thus rest entirely with men, while in social and domestic affairs a vast new field might open to women."

"Advance on these lines would mean the rise of a middle suffrage party—in which many who have hitherto been opponents might find themselves working side by side in the promotion of a settlement by consent. But for such a settlement it would be necessary that those who are now resisting the woman suffrage movement in its present form should have some assurance from the suffragist party and its leaders that the line of demarcation between such local assemblies as might arise under Federalism and the Central Imperial Parliament would be loyally accepted and observed.—Yours obediently, MARY A. WARD."

MRS. FAWCETT'S REPLY

In reply to Mrs. Ward, Mrs. Fawcett wrote as follows to the *Times* last Monday:—"Sir,—I welcome with cordial satisfaction that part of the letter of Mrs. Humphry Ward in your issue of May 15 which indicates that she personally is in favour of women having equal political rights with men in those local Parliaments of the future which will be set up if a solution of the Home Rule problem is found in the direction of Federalism. This

indicates that Home Rule by consent would also probably be accompanied, in part at least, by women's suffrage by consent."

"But I cannot in any way sanction the bargain which Mrs. Humphry Ward seems to suggest in the last paragraph of her letter—namely, that we who stand for 'votes for women on the same terms as they are or may be granted to men'—should strike our flag and proclaim ourselves satisfied by the prospective complete exclusion of the influence of women from the electorate of the Central Imperial Parliament."

"We may all take it for granted that Mrs. Humphry Ward, as an honourable woman of political experience, supports women's suffrage for the proposed local Parliaments because she is convinced that it would act here as it has acted in the United States, New Zealand, Australia, and elsewhere for the good of the community as a whole, and for women themselves as part of the community. In a word, we cordially acknowledge that her support of women's suffrage in the more limited sphere proceeds from conviction and principle. So does ours both for the limited and the more extended sphere. We suffragists can recognize the consistency of Mrs. Humphry Ward and her friends in supporting women's suffrage in local Parliaments while continuing to oppose it for the Imperial Parliament; and we must ask her to respect our consistency in maintaining our advocacy of women's suffrage for both.—Your obedient servant, M. LILICENT GARRETT FAWCETT."

MRS. WARD'S SUGGESTION EXPLAINED

In the course of a further letter published in the *Times* on Wednesday, May 20, Mrs. Humphry Ward says:—

"It would certainly not be possible for anti-suffragists to make common cause—in any concerted or organized way—with Mrs. Fawcett and her party in working for provincial suffrage for women unless, in return for anti-suffrage support, the suffragist leaders were ready to make some substantial concession on their side, say, to forego the introduction of any woman suffrage Bills on the lines at present adopted into Parliament during the coming period of years, whatever that period may be, while the Federal question raised by the case of Ulster is being threshed out. Mrs. Fawcett is clearly not ready to pay that price, and therefore no 'settlement by consent' can come about until not only the main body of anti-suffragists are prepared to accept a Federal franchise, but also till the main body of suffragists are prepared to renounce the Imperial claim. My own hope is that the logic of events will force this renunciation on the suffragist party."

A SPIRITED REJOINER

Lady Willoughby de Broke also contributed to the *Times* of last Monday a spirited rejoinder to Mrs. Ward, in the course of which she says:—

"In return for this concession to women the suffragist party are to promise to be good, and never to kick over the federal traces. Before the suffragists can agree to anything of the kind, they will want to know a great deal more about the 'line of demarcation' between Imperial and local affairs. For instance, is the tariff exclusively an Imperial or a local affair, and does it affect women? Are all the issues now before Parliament and the country Imperial or local? Whichever they be, there is not a single one of them that does not vitally concern women. Who shall say that the Disestablishment of the Church, insurance, mental deficiency, education, and the supply of pure milk are no concern of the mothers of the future race? All these things are national affairs, and if our race is to sustain the Empire they are Imperial to the last degree."

"But the best criticism of this attempt to distinguish between local and Imperial matters has been supplied by Mr. Gladstone:—

"I have thought much, reasoned much, and inquired much with regard to that distinction, but I have arrived at the conclusion that it cannot be drawn. I believe it passes the wit of man."

"Before we can hope to agree about woman suffrage on federal lines, it is not too much to ask Mrs. Ward to take up this distinction where Mr. Gladstone left it."

WELSH HOME RULE

We understand that the Welsh Home Rule Bill, which is not yet printed, is to contain a Woman Suffrage clause. There seems to be no end to the making of Bills that can never come to anything because they are not Government Bills, but which afford an excellent opportunity for pious clauses giving women the vote.

WORLD-WIDE PROGRESS

Where Women's Deputations are Received—Cause Advancing in China and Canada—American Legislation

AUSTRALIA

Women's Deputation Received Where Women Vote

In countries where women vote, deputations may occasionally be refused, but, if persisted in, they will not be subjected to the insults of politicians or the brutalities of the police. In Melbourne last month the request of the Women's Political Association to send a deputation to the White Slave Traffic Conference then sitting in Parliament House was refused by the Premier, who was also the President of the Conference. The deputation, led by Miss Vida Goldstein, took no refusal, however, but went to Parliament House all the same, there to be met by two policemen and an official, who repeated to the women Mr. Watt's refusal to receive them, and his order that the galleries should be closed to the public.

Militancy!

The women persisted in their claim to be received (in England they would have been arrested by this time, or at all events badly knocked about), and on a sign from Miss Goldstein, surged forward into the doorway. Instantly the Sergeant-at-Arms appeared, invited Miss Goldstein to enter, and after a short delay brought her a message from Mr. Watt, the Premier, to say that he would receive the deputation at a quarter-past five!

Thus do politicians learn to behave as statesmen in their dealings with women—in countries where women are on a political equality with men.

CANADA

A Suffrage Tour

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Before leaving Chicago to proceed to Toronto, Miss Dorothy Pethick and I addressed several more audiences on the subject of the suffrage—at two drawing-room meetings, for instance, held by Mrs. Davidson and Mrs. Armstrong, also at a big municipal lunch given by the business men of Chicago.

In Toronto

Here we have both spoken at a dinner given to the Women's Suffrage Societies by the Toronto Men's League for Woman Suffrage, and we are down to speak at several more. The Press has reported us very fairly well on the whole. Only one paper, the *Toronto World*, supports the Woman Suffrage movement, and the Sunday issue of that paper has asked me for an article on Suffrage in Australia.

The Anti-Suffragists

The "Anti" Society is very active here, and it has been brought into the field against me, as my facts about Australia and New Zealand had rather a telling effect on my audiences. Miss Jessie Ackermann has been much quoted, and the public has been assured that the condition of women and children is much worse in the countries where women vote than in those where they trust to the judgment and generosity of man to legislate for them! The fact that 170 to 180 infants in the thousand die every year in Toronto before they reach the age of twelve months (according to Controller McCarthy) is not considered a reason for enfranchising women and enlisting their services to check this awful holocaust. At the Anti-Suffrage annual meeting one male speaker gave a list of cruel women in history as a telling argument against woman's enfranchisement!

I am kept very busy answering the extraordinary assertions made in the papers about lands where the women are enfranchised. The papers report that one aristocratic "Anti" lady stated that she had even heard that one of the Cabinet Ministers in Australia had once been "a pie-man." Better that, surely, than Simple Simon! But her disgust showed she had a very imperfect idea of the meaning of democracy.

Newspapers Distracted

The newspapers profess themselves to be quite distracted as to what to believe about the lands where women are enfranchised: "We hear such different accounts of them from the supporters and the opponents of women's suffrage." But the leader-writer "assumes the god and affects to nod" wisely, if he can do nothing else.

I see that the *Daily Mail* has published the ridiculous and garbled account of Miss Pethick's and my visit to a polling booth

with a reporter in Chicago. This account originally appeared in a Chicago paper, and was the product of the fervid imagination of the reporter who accompanied us, for neither of us stayed in the polling booth after we had been requested to go. I should never have thought of giving utterance to what I am reported to have said: "How glorious to see women vote." I have very often seen it done before, and have even voted myself five times!

Margaret Hodge.

SEX HYGIENE IN THE STATES

Now that a Royal Commission on Contagious Diseases is sitting in this country, it is interesting to note that eight States, since 1899, have made the presence of one of these diseases a bar to marriage: Michigan (1899); Indiana (1905); Utah (1905); Washington (1909); and the following four in 1913, North Dakota, Oregon, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania—all of them States in which equal suffrage prevails, or is likely to become law very shortly.

IMITATING SUFFRAGE STATES

We have before pointed out how the example of the Suffrage States is followed by other States who have not yet given women the vote—as in the case of widows' pensions and pure milk in New York State, for instance. It is again New York that is thinking of imitating another Suffragist's innovation—the Lazy Husband Act of Washington and Colorado, by which wife deserters are made to work in prison and their wages are paid to their wives. The example of Illinois, where, since women won the vote, school houses and other public buildings have taken the place of gambling saloons and such resorts as polling and registration booths, is also to be followed shortly in New York.

We hope that New York State, instead of merely picking the brains of the States where women vote, will imitate those States in the best of all ways next year by giving its women their full enfranchisement.

FINLAND

Work of Women M.P.'s

While collaborating with men, of course, in promoting legislative measures affecting both sexes, the women Members of the Finnish Diet have made themselves responsible for certain proposals during the present session of Parliament; and it is interesting to note that women M.P.'s pro-



[With acknowledgments to Joe Suffragist.]

The oldest woman voter in Europe, Sophia Maria Palin, who was 100 years old when she voted for the Finnish Parliament last August.

posed the motions for the following humanising reforms:—

1. Concerning an amendment in the final statutes to reduce the obligatory minimum of solitary confinement for prisoners in a penitentiary from four months to one month; and also concerning another permitting women prisoners to be employed in outside work.

(2) Concerning the readjustment of work in commercial and other offices, so as

to improve the conditions of clerks and apprentices.

The Oldest Voter in Europe

The picture we reproduce on this page shows Sophia Maria Palin, of Finland, the oldest woman voter in Europe.

CHINA

Dress and Revolution

In the *Chinese Review*, a new monthly magazine, the first number of which contains many promising features, an interesting article on "China Revisited," by Mrs. Alice Little, gives some encouraging facts about the progress of women in that country. She notices the great change which had recently come about in the dress of the Chinese women. "Like women in Europe," she says, "they seemed possessed by a desire to show their legs, *coute que coute*." Tight leggings had replaced the old baggy trousers, and "a Chinese lady thus attired, with perhaps a smoking cap on her head and walking with a man—a sight unknown in the old days—seemed

to arrest no one's attention but mine." Mrs. Little adds: "Possibly the Amazons, who volunteered to fight in the revolution, started this fashion."

Educational Reform

Mrs. Little tells also of the Ching Hwa College at Peking, where 400 of the Chinese youth of both sexes are educated by thirty American professors, many of whom are women who instruct the boys as well as the girls. In Canton, where the writer concluded her tour, she was amazed by the sight of women and girls walking for pleasure in the streets.

"A deep thankfulness possessed me," she writes, "and I felt confident as to the future progress of the race, the women going forward with the men!"

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" IN JERUSALEM

A correspondent writes from Jerusalem, that as a result of leaving copies of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* in the reading-room of a hotel, a distinguished clergyman, a missionary from India, has become a subscriber to the paper.

MARRIED WOMEN'S NATIONALITY

CABLE FROM MISS GOLDSTEIN

(Special to "Votes for Women")

Public meeting resolved that this meeting of citizens requests the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association (London) to reject the Naturalization Bill as insulting to women, prejudicial to Australian women citizens residing in the United Kingdom, who cannot acquire, like Australian men, voting rights for the Imperial Parliament.

(Signed) Vida Goldstein, Chairman.

Melbourne, May 19, 1914.

The above cablegram, specially sent to *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, expresses the feelings of Australian women voters on the Naturalization Bill now before Parliament.

The position of the British woman who marries a foreigner, and of the foreign woman who marries a British subject, was also the subject of much discussion during the debate in the House of Commons, last week, on the Second Reading of Mr. Harcourt's British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill. As a result of the protests made, the Secretary of State for the Colonies said he would carefully consider the points raised, but could "make no promise at present."

The Objectionable Clauses

The objectionable Clauses are two:— Clause 10.—The wife of a British subject shall be deemed to be a British subject, and the wife of an alien shall be deemed to be an alien.

Clause 11.—A woman who, having been a British subject, has by or in consequence of her marriage become an alien, shall not, by reason only of the death of her husband, or the dissolution of her marriage, cease to be an alien.

The Widow of an Alien

Mr. Glyn-Jones took the case of a woman who, having married an alien and thus become an alien, loses her husband shortly afterwards and has to remain an alien for the rest of her life, though only married to him, perhaps, for a year. The same would be true of the foreign woman marrying an Englishman here. The argument that this was a safeguard in the case of property being owned abroad did not hold good in the case of poor women; and he proposed that the Bill should be altered in Committee to allow a widow, who had simply become an alien through marrying an alien, to make a declaration that she wanted to resume her nationality.

"The General Growth of Opinion"

Mr. Dickinson also hoped that opportunity would be given in Committee to amend this portion of the Bill. He said: "I cannot believe that the law affecting the nationality of a married woman can continue to exist for many more years as it stands, and, in view of the general

growth of opinion as regards the legal condition of women, it will be a very disastrous thing if we find the door shut, as I believe it will be if the Bill passes, to amendments on this particular branch of the question. I have never seen any reason why a woman should be forced against her will to become a foreigner because she marries a foreigner. I do not see in the least why she should not be entitled to choose which nation she belongs to, whether she is married or not. A man does not become a foreigner because he marries a foreigner, and why should a woman? This particular branch of the question has raised such serious matters for consideration that, in respect to the Old Age Pension Act, we have had to practically abandon the principle that a woman loses her nationality because she marries a foreigner."

"Semi-Servile Beings"

Mr. T. E. Harvey, speaking on the same point, said: "I hope the Colonial Secretary will be able to redress that very great grievance which at present attaches to these women, and that the women will be allowed in future to exercise some option on marriage when they marry an alien, so that they shall not be treated as though they were semi-servile beings passing into the power of their husbands."

"A Piece of Utter Hypocrisy"

Mr. Booth, saying he felt very strongly on the sex question, continued: "I am in favour of downright equality. I regard Clauses 10 and 11 as a piece of utter hypocrisy. . . . Those who can conceive and defend an idea of that kind are hopelessly behind the times, and they are voicing the conditions of an Eastern harem. I am amazed that anyone should have the cool audacity to put such Clauses in the Bill. It is perpetuating the idea that woman is the slave and the chattel of a man as soon as she is married to him."

Mr. Harcourt's Reply

Mr. Harcourt said he would in Committee very carefully consider the point, but added: "I can make no promise at present, for I must consider the matter carefully. We must not interfere with the existing legislation of the Dominions."

By James A. Aldis (late Headmaster of Queen Mary's Grammar School, Walsall)

After Life's fitful fever let her sleep
With lids fast closed, nor let her open them
On this sad world, where women wait and weep,
Till the day dawn when, by pure Love compelled,
All baby life by all men shall be held
As sacred as was that of Bethlehem.

—June 10, 1913.

Several leaflets are now published in which broad general reasons are given why electors should put the question of women's suffrage in the front rank of their political demands at every contested election.

An Absurd Non-Sequitur

But I personally feel that militancy is a frightful evil. For it intensifies among women, and among their male sympathisers, habits of thought which make a successful study of the profound issues of the great woman question almost impossible. In this way, whether it succeeds or fails, it is bound to hinder the future progress of women's social emancipation. But, worst of all, if it succeeds, it will destroy the moral and spiritual value of the vote itself. It will drag the woman's vote of the future down to the low level of the man's vote of to-day. It will only make Parliamentary Government vastly more complex, more incalculable, more ineffective for good, more immediately effective for evil, and, on the whole, very slightly less immoral than it is now. The vote, in itself, is almost worthless. Everything depends upon the way in which it is won, and the spirit in which it is used. If women win the vote by using the Devil's weapons of violence and intimidation, and afterwards try to use their vote for the furtherance of Christ's kingdom, they will find too late that they have really sold their cause to the Devil, and that he will not fail to exact his share of the bargain. The Eternal Laws of the Spiritual Universe are as inexorable as the law of gravitation.

The Importunate Widow

triumphant injustice. The Liberal Government has rewritten the Parable of the Importunate Widow; and revised it up to date. The modern judge, like his prototype, fears not God; unlike his prototype, he greatly regards man. But he has a short way with the widow. When the Importunate Widow came clamouring to him for justice, he clapped her into gaol for disregarding the notice-board at his gate—"No Hawkers—No Widows." When the widow had served her time, she was so soured by her imprisonment that she smashed one of his windows by way of protest. For this she got six months with hard labour. On coming out of prison she fired one of his ricks as a more emphatic protest against her judge's injustice. So she was again imprisoned; and this time her gaolers tried to break her spirit by using in succession the padded cell, the black hole, the freezing hose-pipe, and the frog-march up and down the prison staircase. So she adopted the hunger-strike, and filled the air with her importunate clamours. But they soon silenced her with a gag in her mouth, and a feeding-tube thrust down her throat. But as the judge greatly regarded man, he caused a daily bulletin to be affixed to the notice-board at his gate, in which the gaol Governor and Chaplain certified that the prisoner was in excellent health, and was receiving every attention. Soon, however, the Governor sent to warn the judge that the widow was likely to die. This nonplussed him. He pondered over the problem for a whole hour. And then he invented the Cat and Mouse Act.

There is another important question of the day, less obviously connected with the suffrage, but in reality more vitally bound up with it; I mean the Peace movement. Philanthropists are working in various ways for the abolition of war; they urge diverse considerations, some of Christianity, some of humanity, some of reason and common-sense; and finally they prove that it is contrary to sound economics, even for the winning side. But I have never yet seen any reference to the fundamental biological cause of the prevalence of war, and the fundamental biological postulate for its ultimate suppression.

Man's Immemorial Past

courage, discipline, obedience, and loyal co-operation with tribal fellow-warriors. As a rule those individuals who possessed these virtues in the highest degree were the most successful in fight, and by necessary consequence most successful in breeding an improved generation to take their place. But as civilisation advances, as war becomes more complex, it fails more and more to elevate the individual. It deals only with nations as a whole. Every nation which has become universally corrupt, effeminate, and vicious, sooner or later meets with its Sadowa or Sedan. Thus to inaugurate a reign of universal peace would be about the worst thing that could happen to humanity, were we not to discover beforehand some better and more effective weapon than war to guard against the possibility of race-degeneration among nations.

The Only Way

[There are many points in the above article, with regard to which suffragists will differ in opinion particularly in reference to Mr. Aldis's comments upon militancy. We think that he does not sufficiently distinguish between acts committed in revenge for personal illtreatment and acts committed as a protest against public wrong. The article is, however, so illuminating and instructive that we believe that our readers will be glad to have it in its entirety.—ED. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

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NEW BOOKS

NORMAN ANGELL'S NEW BOOK*

There was a vigour of straightforward logic in Mr. Norman Angell's first work, "The Great Illusion," which ranked him at once among the greatest pamphleteers in our language. He wrote with something of the energy of Cobden or Paine, and the source of his inspiration was the same. Like them, he is convinced that mankind is governed by reason; like them he feels assured that if he can but convince us all of folly, the mischiefs which beset us will vanish away. He demonstrated that war is bad business, and that conquest does not pay, and assumed that if his demonstration were but complete, if it were but generally accepted, perpetual peace would dawn with the triumph of his argument. His thesis is simple, persuasive, and, indeed, in the realm of theory, irresistible. But we are not sure that it lends itself readily to repetition, or serves to illumine the by-roads of politics or history. The reader who knows "The Great Illusion" will find little or nothing that is new in this collection of essays and addresses, while the reader who has not yet made the acquaintance of this writer, who must be classed among the really formative thinkers of our generation, would be wise to turn rather to that early work. He has shot his bolt, and we notice with all the old conviction and argumentative force, some decline in the elasticity of the thoughts and the directness of the language.

Mr. Angell deals in this book with some of his critics. He is effective enough against those who found his gospel sordid and materialistic. The more damaging criticism was always that which came rather from the Socialist than from the militarist camp. It is easy to prove that war is unreason, and that conquest does not benefit a nation. Mr. Angell's sketch of the effects which a war would have upon the credit system of any highly organised industrial community is probably not seriously exaggerated, though it has unfortunately little application to agricultural states like the Balkan Kingdoms and Russia. But he hardly meets the point that while war and conquest may not pay a nation, and may demonstrably impoverish it, armaments have their use from the standpoint of great and powerful interests. Every empire, as it expands or "penetrates" new "places in the sun," makes economic opportunities and wins monopolies and concessions for its financial groups. Even where conquest is renounced, and war in the formal sense is avoided, these financial interests are using diplomacy to force their way for them in countries like Turkey and China, not to mention Mexico or Morocco. Diplomacy does not, in dealing with such States, rely on its conversational charm. It has

* "The Foundations of International Policy." By Norman Angell. (London: Heinemann. Price 2s. 6d.)

behind it the pressure and prestige of armaments. The great empires are led into a struggle for a balance of power in Europe primarily that they may have the means of fostering their economic expansion over-seas. Trade is no longer, under modern conditions, mainly an exchange of goods; it is based on the export of capital. Armaments may be a folly from the standpoint of the masses of any modern nation, but they have a purpose in the calculations of its financiers and investors, interested in foreign loans, in railway construction, and in mining concessions. The pressure of such interests explains, for example, the occupation of Morocco, and in order to secure Morocco for one Power rather than another, all the Powers are leagued in rival groups, which arm against each other. The lack of some survey of this world-wide process makes Mr. Angell's teaching incomplete. It is not mere unreason which perpetuates armaments. There are vast and powerful interests which find a gain in the general folly.

A NEW EDITION

Yet another edition of Mr. Lyon Bleas's useful history of the woman's movement, "The Emancipation of English Women," has been issued by the National Political League. In its new form, or rather forms, both eminently readable, it can be obtained for the moderate price of 2s. and 1s.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Mysticism and the Creed." By W. F. Cobb, D.D. (London: Macmillan. Price 10s. 6d. net.)

"Roding Rectory." By Archibald Marshall. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 6s.)

"A Mother in Exile." Anonymous. (London: Everett. Price 6s.)

"Transition." By Lucy Re-Bartlett. (London: Longmans. Price 6s.)

"Fair Haven and Foul Strand." By August Strindberg. (London: T. Werner Laurie. Price 6s.)

"The War of Steel and Gold." By H. N. Brailsford. (London: Bell. Price 5s. net.)

"The Ways of Society." By Mrs. Danvers Delano. (London: T. Werner Laurie. Price 5s. net.)

"The Death of Nobody." By Jules Romains. (London: Howard Latimer. Price 4s. 6d. net.)

"The Position of Woman in Primitive Society." By C. Gasquoine Hartley (Mrs. Walter M. Gallichan). London: Eveleigh Nash. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"Poor Mrs. Egerton. A Study in Atmosphere." By Mrs. G. S. Reaney. (London: Heath, Cranston, and Ouseley. Price 2s. net.)

"Ballads and Burdens." By V. Goldie. (London: A. C. Fifield. Price 1s. net.)

"The Wife in Ancient and Modern Times." By E. J. Schuster. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

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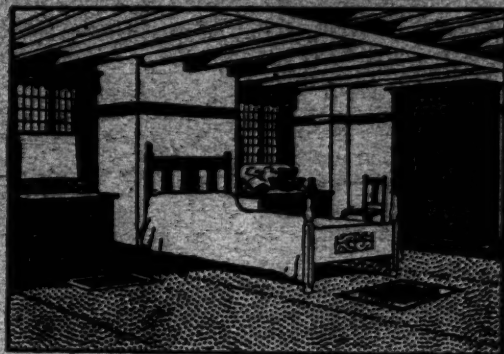


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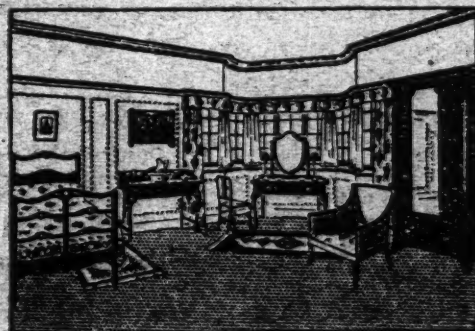
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FRIDAY, MAY 22, 1914.

THE MEANING OF THE STRUGGLE

We are glad to learn that Mrs. Humphry Ward, anti-suffragist though she is, favours the inclusion of women among the electorate for minor Parliaments. Her letter, written to the *Times* of Friday last, makes it clear that she supports votes for women in the Scottish Home Rule Bill, and that in the event of federal development taking place she will confine her opposition to resisting the extension to women of the Imperial franchise.

Though Mrs. Humphry Ward expressly states that she speaks only for herself, we hope that this decision will mean that the great bulk of the women who call themselves anti-suffragists will take the same view, and that so far, at any rate, as the acquisition of the local franchise is concerned, we shall be spared the sorry spectacle of women giving time and thought and money in resisting the progressive movement of their sex. Opposition by men anti-suffragists there will still undoubtedly be—we had evidence of it last Friday in the petulant speeches delivered in the House of Commons on the Scottish Home Rule Bill—but this opposition should now be confined to those who are clearly anti-woman, and ought not, in the

present state of public opinion, to prove any real hindrance to success.

It should be remembered, however, that the whole federal solution is still a castle in the air, and that the only embodiment of it at present is in the Irish Home Rule Bill. We hope, therefore, that Mrs. Humphry Ward's announcement means that, following Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson, whom she quotes with approval, she will give her support to the proposal to amend the Irish Home Rule Bill so as to give Irishwomen votes for the Irish Parliament. If this is so, and if in consequence of the combined efforts of ourselves and Mrs. Humphry Ward's supporters, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond are induced to withdraw their opposition, we shall consider that a very distinct advance has been made.

But while we welcome this newly-found basis of common ground with Mrs. Humphry Ward, we repudiate entirely her suggestion that the proposal she puts forward should form a "settlement by consent" of the whole suffrage issue. There was never a time when suffragists should be more unflinching in their vigorous endeavour to secure the immediate enactment of woman suffrage as an Imperial measure for the Imperial Parliament. In the first place, as we have already pointed out, the federal solution is still entirely in the air, and may not materialise for several years to come. We have not any intention of hanging up the fulfilment of our desires for this indefinite period, even if their partial satisfaction were otherwise acceptable to us as an instalment. In the second place, as Lady Willoughby de Broke pointed out in her instructive letter to the *Times* last Monday, we are not content that women should remain excluded from having a voice in the decision of Free Trade and Tariff Reform, Peace and War, Disestablishment, Insurance, Old Age Pensions, the incidence of taxation, and similar important questions that, while intimately concerning women, will naturally be regarded as the province of the Imperial Parliament.

But in our view the matter goes very much deeper than is reached by either of these objections. The fight that we are making is not for gaining for women a little more power here or a few more concessions there, important though these may be as steps upon the way. It is a fight for a realisation of a world-wide spiritual idea—the equal humanity of the two sexes of the human race. In this idea of equal humanity is included the cognate ideas of equal sovereignty and of equal opportunity for service. We realise that in this country sovereign power is vested in the Imperial Parliament. Therefore the inclusion of women among the electorate for the Imperial Parliament means the recognition of the equal sovereign rights of the woman-half of the race, and is an expression of our ideal in concrete form. The exclusion of women from the electorate implies a belief in the inferiority of women, and supports the false world-ideal of the dominance of the male and the subservience of the female.

It is true that because of the littleness of the minds of men and women we have consented to translate this great conception into terms which even the unimaginative are capable of comprehending. We have expressed the loss which humanity suffers through the present unequal relation of the sexes in concrete terms of milk supply, of unjust laws, of improper taxation, of the failure to protect the honour of women, or the lives of little children. But these are only illustrations on the material plane; even assuming that they could be satisfied by some solution short of equality, the fundamental wrong ideal would still remain.

For this fundamental conception of sex-equality, which to us is all-important (not merely in consequence of the evils which spring from its denial, but also for itself), women, and men too, have carried on with unflinching zeal a mighty campaign, they have made sacrifices of liberty, of substance, of health, of life itself. This campaign can never be brought to an end, its vigour and determination can never be relaxed until the final consummation is attained.

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CUI BONO?

By T. O'Meara

It has often been remarked that men and women will fight most determinedly for some right or privilege which carries with it no material advantage whatsoever. Recognising this universal trait, we have always been careful to keep our highest honours upon a purely symbolical plane—a tap from a king's sword, a tiny bronze cross worth three ha'pence, a bit of scrawled parchment, or—most coveted and surely most shadowy glory of all!—the remembrance of one name amongst mankind a thousand years after the owner of that name has perished and crumbled to dust. And so, when some plump priest of the Goddess of Getting On asks us, with a knowing wag of his fat head, just what solid value, in pounds, shillings, and pence, the Vote is going to bring to every individual woman, we may be excused for smiling.

A Stern Call to Service

Our enfranchisement will, we know, be the cause of many noticeable changes for the better, affecting the whole nation, men and women both; but does any Suffragist suppose that she, personally, is going to share in these benefits? Does she ever think of such a possibility, and would it influence her opinions in the slightest degree? On the contrary, incomparably the greatest thing implied in the final full recognition of our status as free citizens is not a flattering luxurious privilege, but a stern call to service. "Liberty means responsibility; that is why most people dread it," says Bernard Shaw, with crisp decision; summing up, in one brief sentence, the whole deadly morass of inertia, cowardice, parasitism and prostitution which lies behind that well-worn assertion that Real Ladies—it should, perhaps, be pronounced "Real Lydies"—"do not want the Vote."

Indeed, if we were only out for what we could get, I for one should say we certainly ought not to have the vote; but, as certain of our "Anti" friends have so often pointed out to us, there is a more direct method of obtaining immediate worldly advantages, open to every woman possessed of passable good looks and not too fastidious in exploiting them.

But we are under no illusion. We know that if we would gain any life worth living, we must first lose that life of sheltered ease which so many worthy gentlemen (ignoring the charwoman who scrubs their floors and the laundress who irons their collars) believe to be the only true existence for us. We are simply and honestly anxious, incredible as it may seem, to "take up the burden

And reap the old reward;
The blame of those we better, the hate of those we guard.
The cry of those we humour—ah, slowly!—towards the light:
"Why brought ye us from bondage, our loved Egyptian night?"

A most inexplicable demand this, to the priest of the Goddess of Getting On! I notice that he generally accounts for it by asserting that we are all leading secret lives of wanton and profligate extravagance, thanks to a wholesale system of graft; witness those diamond necklaces and fur coats, those Paris hats and elaborate coiffures, that general air of vicious prosperity and unlimited leisure observable in the average Suffrage writer or speaker, and especially in the leaders of our movement. . . . Or else he simply says that we are insane—must be! He would never do such a mad thing, that's certain!

Doctrine of Lazy Dependence

Now, there is no doubt that the hardest battle we have had to fight has been not against male brutality, but against the pernicious doctrine of lazy dependence which makes it a natural and not a shameful thing for a healthy woman to claim financial support from her long-suffering male relatives, for no reason whatever except her sex. The men have themselves to blame, of course, for that evil old tradition of Lovely Woman (perpetually posed with her head upon the strong man's bosom—and

both her hands in his pocket), since man has tried his best, all down the ages, to bar the door of every trade and profession (except the oldest profession on earth) in the woman's face. And he has paid the penalty for this stupidity in hard cash and we have paid it in dishonour. It is surely paradoxical that we should be expected to despise a lady who allows herself to be "kept"—often for reasons of genuine affection and camaraderie—by some lazy young scamp with more money than brains, and yet see nothing disgraceful in the conduct of an able-bodied maiden who allows herself to be kept by her hard-working, estimable father or brother or uncle, giving nothing in return for it but her sweet smile, and sometimes not that. Even in the case of married couples—well, like the delightful Dr. Relling in Ibsen's play, "I've never been exactly married myself, so of course I can't pretend to speak with authority"; but surely our ideal is to see every woman as honourably independent of her husband as she is of every other man, giving love for love only; and this, not by sponging upon her parents and guardians for a dowry, or by taking her pin-money under the new name of lawful wages, but by the simpler method of earning her own living whenever she is not actively engaged in the bearing and rearing of babies. We are already beginning to use a blunter term to describe that astute damsel who marries frankly for money; but until the whole

business is cleansed of that taint there will always be some sensitive and self-respecting women who deliberately avoid matrimony lest it should be thought that they are influenced by worldly motives, in a matter which some of us are romantic enough to consider rather sacred. Only by this strait and narrow way can we hope to escape from that entanglement of masculine contempt and condescension which has hampered us so sorely and so long.

The Illusory Reward

True independence can only come through economic independence; and this we must win for ourselves, for no one can give it to us. And our next step towards this laborious conquest is the vote, which we have already earned, heaven knows, by unacknowledged service to the State, and demand now as fair payment, and as a necessary aid towards the ultimate goal of an open labour market and a fair chance therein. But this does not mean ousting man from the labour market (unless he is a much bigger fool than he looks). On the contrary, he will benefit, since, unless he exterminates us altogether—in itself a costly process—we must either keep ourselves or be kept; and we can do the job cheaper than he can. And so, if he wants to know exactly who it is who is going to get the final, solid, L.S.D. advantage from our enfranchisement, the answer is plain: *he is*. We shall only get that absurd and illusory reward which Falstaff so despised.

DEDICATA

(In Memory of E. W. D. and Others Who Have Suffered Martyrdom)

Fire in the splendid soul indignant burning,
Her eyes ablaze with purifying flame,
Steadfast she trod a road that has no turning
And leads to no reward of love or fame,
But sorrow only, and the conspicuous height
Of isolating peril and naked shame,
Where cruelty stands and gazes; not a light
To mark her footsteps in the uncertain storm,
But the storm's anger quivering through the night,
And that deep rage consuming her own heart
With fire that dims the lightning.

Exquisite form,
Incarnate semblance of an exquisite soul
Therein prefigured for its counterpart!
O body dedicate, splendour-breathing life,
Onward you moved to what invisible goal,
Alone, unsheltered, climbing without chart
Through haunted darkness, where dim shapes at
strife
Forebode obscurely! God-devoted mind,
Self-banished exile, purposely desolate,
To sacrifice self-condemned, so you might find
Some dubious path, some narrowly opening gate,
Whence gleamed a fitful hope for human kind,
Onward you moved, doomed to the nobler fate,
While we to common uses of the day are left behind.

There is a village and a plain,
Deep in jute and shimmering rice,
Where the golden sun and golden rain
Nurture a peopled paradise;
Dust of buffaloes trailing home
Tells that sleepy evening's come;
Over the roofs the cloudy spires
Spring from howls upon the fires;
And beneath the sacred tree,
Guarding men and beasts and lands,
Hung with flowers for sanctity,
Smeared with scarlet the idol stands,
Who carries life and death in multifarious hands.

Moth-like figures gather round
One who makes his darkening way
Upward to the enchanted ground
Past the rainbow gates of day;
Wrapt in the saffron robe, he goes
To heights of Himalayan snows,
There, alone with stars and sky,
To stare on God's immensity;
But they return to the cattle-fold,
Boil the pots and lay the bed,

Hang the garland of marigold
Round the vermilion idol's head,
Who gives the living life, and sleep to all the dead.

Like them we turn from her and go
Our comfortable ways. Ah, worse than so!
Rather we seem like one
Who in old times lay crouching far apart,
And watched the slowly-mounting sun
And waited with sick heart,
Till from the prison gates he heard
The expected shout/break on the morning glare
And crash from shouting street to street,
Striking one hideous word,
That drowned the clang of soldiers' feet,
And howled above the great cathedral square
In triumph of execration.

Then there fell
On silence the slow service for the dying,
And the death-tolling bell.

How small and white she stands!
So white a thing among the staring eyes,
And small!

But now they are tying
Cords on her feet, cords on her sacred hands.
They strain a biting rope around her thighs;
Below the tender rising of her breast
A belt of iron is clamped, and at her throat
A twisted steel; and for a parting jest
Across her mouth they knot two lengths of hair.

Oh, see! What vapours float!
What filmy creature crawls into the air!
Smoke, threads of smoke! And now a worm of fire!
Great globes of smoke! Crackling of firewood!
Flame—

Flame of devouring serpents leaping higher!
And then a cry—a cry! In mercy's name!
The vesture's gone. Let fire and smoke in haste
Conceal. God strike all gazers blind!—
A whiteness darkens; forward falls her head;
God's temple crumbles; beauty all effaced;
Flakes of her body swim upon the wind,
And on the wind her passionate soul is sped.

So as the last flame, pale in the sunshine, burned,
He who had loved her from the market turned,
And saw the shops reopening, pavements cleared,
And merry tables set for dinner time;
While from the great cathedral's choir he heard
Old priests concluding mass on stroke of the noon-
day chime. H. W. N.

THE REVOLUTIONARIES

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed to Suffragists in the Press during the week:—

Friday, May 15.—Cricket pavilion belonging to Birmingham Oratory School, Edgbaston, destroyed by fire. Suffragist literature found.

Sunday, May 17.—Grand stand at Birmingham Racecourse, Castle Bromwich, destroyed by fire. Suffragist literature and messages found.

Wednesday, May 20.—Large furze fire at Aldershot. Attributed to Suffragists; no evidence.

IN THE COURTS

Wednesday, May 13.—At the London Sessions, before Mr. Wallace, K.C., charged with damaging picture in Royal Academy, Miss Ansell. Six months' imprisonment, and ordered to pay costs of prosecution.

Friday, May 15.—At Westminster Police Court, before Mr. Horace Smith, charged with making inciting speeches, Mrs. Drummond and Mrs. Dacre Fox. Each ordered to find two sureties in £50 each, or go to prison for one month. At Birmingham Police Court, charged with making inciting speeches, Miss Lillias Mitchell. Remanded.

At Felixstowe, charged on remand with setting fire to the Bath Hotel and three stacks, Miss Hilda Burkett, alias Byron, and Miss Florence Tunks. Case adjourned.

Saturday, May 16.—At Felixstowe, Miss Hilda Burkett and Miss Florence Tunks. Committed for trial.

Monday, May 18.—At Birmingham, charged on remand with making inciting speeches, Miss Lillias Mitchell. Too ill to appear.

Tuesday, May 19th.—At Bow Street, charged with printing and publishing inciting matter in the *Suffragette*, Sydney Granville Drew. Committed for trial, bail being granted.

DEPUTATION TO THE KING

After we go to Press on Thursday, May 21, the Women's Social and Political Union will endeavour to go in deputation to the King, led by Mrs. Pankhurst, "to demand votes for women, to protest against torture, to claim equal treatment for militant Ulster men and militant Suffragists." The deputation is timed to reach the Palace at 4 p.m.

The petitioners claim, in a purple, white and green leaflet which has been issued by them, that "an Irish deputation which demanded citizen rights was received by King George III. in person in 1793. Why," it adds, "should not the Women's Deputation be received in 1914 by King George V?"

Men's Resolutions

The following resolutions were passed by the Executive of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage last Tuesday:—

(1) Whereas men, being electors, have the constitutional right of approach to ministers as responsible to the King, women to whom ministers have not that direct responsibility which they have to men as voters, are justified in asserting their ancient constitutional right of direct approach to the Sovereign.

(2) That the committee of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage request that the King be graciously pleased to indicate to the authorities his desire that any official steps taken in connection with the proposed deputation on May 21 to Buckingham Palace shall be directed towards maintenance of public order and the protection of the deputation from violence.

The second of these resolutions has been sent to the King's Private Secretary and to Sir Edward Grey.

SEEKING SANCTUARY

General Drummond and Mrs. Dacre Fox

On Thursday in last week, Mrs. Drummond and Mrs. Dacre Fox, who had been summoned to appear at Westminster Police Court on that day on account of certain inciting speeches they were alleged to have made, drove at an early hour to the houses of Sir Edward Carson and Lord Lansdowne respectively, established themselves in both cases on the threshold and sent in a letter to explain the position.

One Militant to Another

The letter in each case said that a militant had come to another militant for shelter from arrest, thinking it the safest place she could come to because he had been enabled to go scot free. In Mrs. Drummond's case, she remained undisturbed most of the day on Sir Edward Carson's doorstep in Eaton Place, breakfasting and lunching there. Constables prevented her from speaking to Sir Edward when he came out of the house, but she managed to throw documents into

the hall, containing militant quotations from his own speeches.

On the issue of a warrant because of her failure to appear at the police court, Mrs. Drummond was arrested about four o'clock in the afternoon.

Lord Lansdowne's Reply

Mrs. Dacre Fox, in the meanwhile, had received a reply to her letter from Lord Lansdowne's secretary, in the course of which he said:—"I am to say that it is impossible for him to allow you to take refuge in his house, in which, moreover, you would obviously still be within the reach of the law. Lord Lansdowne has not seen the speeches which have led to the proceedings taken against you. As to his own conduct, should it at any time render him liable to persecution, he would certainly, if required to appear before a magistrate, not decline to do so."

Mrs. Fox was removed by the police and charged with obstruction at Vine Street, but was subsequently released. She promptly returned to Lansdowne House and was arrested on a warrant later in the day.

PROCEEDINGS IN COURT

On Friday morning, both defendants were brought up at Westminster Police Court, before Mr. Horace Smith. Mrs. Dacre Fox, whose case was taken first, said she would take no part in the proceedings, and talked loudly for some twenty minutes.

Her Turn Now!

A similar course was pursued by Mrs. Drummond who caused laughter by telling Mr. Muskett (who was prosecuting for the Crown), that she had as good a voice as he had, that he had done all the talking there for seven years and it was her turn now.

At the conclusion of the evidence of the shorthand writers, not a word of which could be heard, Mr. Horace Smith ordered the defendants to find two sureties in £50 each for twelve months' good behaviour, or in default one month's imprisonment.

The defendants did not, of course, consent to be bound over.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE "SUFFRAGETTE"

Printer Committed for Trial

Further evidence was given at Bow Street Police Court last Tuesday in the case in which Mr. Sydney Granville Drew, secretary and manager of the Victoria House Printing Company, was summoned for printing and publishing the *Suffragette*, which, it was alleged, incited women to commit damage to property.

The secretary of the Clarion Newspaper Company and Utopia Press said the Utopia Press set up the formes for the *Suffragette* from copy supplied by the W.S.P.U. The type in formes was afterwards sent to the Victoria House Printing Company to be printed. Mrs. Dacre Fox and Miss Roe called at witness's office to sub-edit the paper. In answer to Mr. McCurdie (for the defendant), witness admitted having received the following letter from Mr. Drew:—

"I have to acknowledge and thank you for yours of the 11th covering the arrangement made between us whereby we machine the *Suffragette* on your behalf in the same way as we handled the *Clarion*. I am sure we can rely upon your taking all possible care that nothing shall appear in the columns of the paper that shall possibly lead to a breach of the law."

The witness said that in reply he wrote a note to Mr. Drew in which he said: "We are not out for taking risks. Besides, my people are as opposed as you to all forms of militancy."

The defendant was committed for trial, bail being granted in one surety of £100.

A BIRMINGHAM ARREST

Last Friday, Miss Lillias Mitchell, W.S.P.U., organiser at Birmingham, was arrested at her office there and brought before the Stipendiary, Lord Ilkeston, to show cause why she should not enter into sureties to keep the peace.

The arrest arose out of a recent speech in Birmingham, in which she is alleged to have incited the audience to commit unlawful acts of destruction.

Miss Mitchell was remanded in custody until Tuesday by which time she was too ill to appear, having been hunger-striking all through the interval.

AT FELIXSTOWE

At Felixstowe, last Friday and Saturday, Miss Hilda Burkett and Miss Florence Tunks were charged with firing ricks and with setting fire to the Bath Hotel, Felixstowe. On both days they drowned the proceedings by talking loudly all the time, and were both committed for trial at the Suffolk Assizes, to be opened at Bury St. Edmunds on the 28th inst. The two defendants, who had been forcibly fed while in Ipswich Gaol, were removed in custody.

SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS

Mrs. Dacre Fox was released from Holloway last Tuesday evening, after a hunger strike.

Mrs. Mary Wood, after being released under the Cat and Mouse Act while awaiting trial on the charge of damaging a picture in the Royal Academy, is stated to have eluded the police and left the nursing home to which she was taken.

Miss Lillias Mitchell, who was to have appeared again before the Birmingham magistrates last Monday, was too ill to appear, owing to a hunger strike in Winslow Green Prison; she was released on licence, that evening.

Miss Lillian Lenton, who was released on licence from Armley Gaol, last Monday week, has been staying in a house on the edge of the moors, guarded back and front by police. "Such generous odds as ten to one have been offered that she will outwit the Harrogate police," says the *Leeds Mercury*; and the same paper alleges that an attempt at escape was made early one morning, last week, when a woman purporting to be Miss Lenton tried to draw the police from the front of the house by making a sortie from the back. Whether the story is true or false, it serves to show at what expense to the country the Cat and Mouse Act has to be enforced.

And when, last Tuesday, the police raided the house to re-arrest her, she was not there.

IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Last Sunday morning, just as the Archbishop of Dublin gave out his text in Westminster Abbey, six women rose and chanted a Suffragist prayer for women in prison. The organ drowned their prayer—could it, by the way?—and the vergers ushered the women from the Abbey.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

"Cases Not Parallel"

In the House of Commons on May 14, Mr. Pratt asked the Prime Minister whether, in view of the decision of the Government not to take criminal proceedings against the persons involved in the recent illegal importation of arms into Ulster, a similar attitude is to be adopted towards women in this country who are charged with lawlessness in pursuit of political ends?

The Prime Minister: I do not think that the two cases are parallel.

Mr. Pratt: Will the right hon. gentleman not take into consideration alike the expediency and justice in the circumstances of the present time of making some concession to brave, determined women, whose cause has been vindicated—?

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member must give notice of that question.

How can it be said after this that voteless women are treated by the Government as fairly as enfranchised men?

A LIBERAL'S PROTEST

A Liberal signing himself John Doherty, writes to the *Daily News* to condemn the proceedings against the W.S.P.U. officials while the Ulster rebels go free. He adds, referring to the militants: "I have had little sympathy with the objects of these ladies, and still less with their methods, but it is small wonder that they, the victims of this indefensible distinction, should cease to respect or obey the law and lose all confidence in those who have to administer it."

THE TAX ON MARRIAGE

Mr. Lloyd George's Proposals

In the renewed debate on the Budget resolutions, on May 14, further protests were made against the injustice of treating a husband and wife as one person for the purpose of levying income tax, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that a resolution on the subject would be moved to the Revenue Bill when it got into Committee.

Mr. Cassel again enumerated all the arguments against the present anomalous state of the law, and asked if the Chancellor would not at least give a special marriage exemption. In America, he added, "they do add the two incomes together, but they give a special exemption because they are married people."

Mr. Sanderson endorsed Mr. Cassel's statements, and said it was "absolutely indefensible" that a man and his wife should be treated as one person when they are two persons.

The Chancellor's Reply

Mr. Lloyd George said that with regard to Mr. Cassel's suggestion, "even on the old tax it would have cost the revenue £1,500,000." The hon. and learned gentleman said if it is just it ought to be done. The effect would be to put up the taxes of other persons, and the point is whether they can, in justice, demand that other people should bear the burden of £1,500,000 in order to redress what they regard as an injustice. I think the question is the income which is available for the purpose of running the household.

To-morrow's Jam

"What I can see my way to do is what I suggested last year. I agree that it is humiliating that a wife in those circumstances should be treated as a perfect cypher and of no account, and that the whole of the account should pass in the name of the husband, all returns having to be made by him, although in some cases it is the wife who is earning the most of the money. This point was very well put before me by a deputation which waited on me last year, and I have promised to the best of my ability to put that matter right. I think, however, that the Revenue Bill is the place to do it. The hon. and learned gentleman said that last year there was a Resolution which ought to have been made to enable me to redress the grievance which I have admitted. That will be moved when the Revenue Bill goes to Committee. But that is not a Resolution in Ways and Means, and therefore it is not necessary to move it now. Even if it were to be dealt with in the Finance Bill I should move it later on. It will be moved when the Revenue Bill gets into Committee in order that it may be dealt with."

A PETITION OF RIGHT

An interesting point in regard to income-tax law was raised by Mrs. Ethel Ayres Purdie, accountant and auditor, of Hampden House, Kingsway, by a petition

of right which was heard before Mr. Justice Rowland in the King's Bench Division on Tuesday. Mrs. Purdie contended that, being a married woman living with her husband, certain sums amounting to 9s. 6d. which had been deducted from dividends due to her, had been wrongfully deducted; the effect being to charge her with income-tax in her own name, whereas they should have been charged in the name of her husband.

Mrs. Purdie, arguing the case in person, said that she was the registered holder of ninety Preference shares in Freeman, Hardy, and Willis (Limited), and of one bond for £100 United States of Brazil Four per Cent. Loan, 1911, and nine bonds for £20 each respectively Norwegian Four per Cent. Loan, 1911, and was entitled to them for her sole and separate use.

From the dividends due on these shares and bonds from November, 1912, to February, 1913, the persons paying them had deducted 9s. 6d. for income-tax, and the Board of Inland Revenue refused to repay that sum on the ground that dividends were not profits, and that petitioner was not protected by Section 45 of the Income-Tax Act of 1842.

Mrs. Purdie contended that the dividends and coupons were by law her profits, and that the profits of a married woman living with her husband were by law to be charged in the name of her husband, and that he was by law liable to pay income-tax in respect of her separate estate.

His lordship, in giving judgment, said the point raised was really a short one, and Mrs. Purdie had put it very clearly indeed. The point she made was that, although the dividends and interest had rightly suffered deduction for income-tax as between herself and the bankers, and been rightly paid to the Treasury, yet no substantive liability to pay the tax had ever been imposed upon her, she being a married woman living with her husband, and that the Crown should refund the money, as it was only by the machinery of collection—which was too large for the Act—that the money had got into their possession.

Her argument was founded upon a complete misapprehension of the Income-Tax Acts, which was in every way excusable owing to their complexity. With regard to companies, it was the company that was the taxpayer. With regard to foreign investments, the English banker through whom the interest was paid was in a similar position. Section 45 contained an enacting part and two provisos, and nothing was a greater source of error than to take a proviso and treat it as a substantive enactment. Mrs. Purdie contended that this income-tax should be charged in the name of her husband, but that most clearly it could not be, because it was of the very essence of income-tax that where the tax had been rightly deducted at the source the taxpayer himself could not be charged.

The income-tax in the present case was quite properly deducted from Mrs. Purdie's income, and retained by the Crown. The petition must therefore be dismissed.

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE IN DUBLIN

(From Our Irish Correspondent.)

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence addressed a meeting in the Sackville Hall, Dublin, organised by the Irish Women's Franchise League, on Thursday last. Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington presided over a large and enthusiastic gathering. On Mrs. Lawrence's last visit to Dublin there was considerable interruption from adherents of the Irish party; this time the proceedings were entirely harmonious, and the resolution was carried unanimously.

The six little girls whom Mrs. Lawrence entertained in her Surrey cottage during the great lock-out in Dublin were on the platform, and their mothers came to thank Mrs. Lawrence for her kindness to the children. (They also came to see Mrs. Lawrence off at the station the next day.) Mr. Larkin, the Dublin labour leader, wired: "Regret cannot be present support fighter for freedom." Another message came from Mr. R. Lindsey Crawford, formerly the founder and leader of the Independent Orange Party in Ulster, now a member of the editorial staff of the *Toronto Globe*, the chief Liberal paper of Canada, and visiting Ireland as special correspondent for that paper. Mr. Crawford wrote regretting his inability to attend the meeting, and added: "Need I say how much I admire the splendid fight by Irishwomen for their rights. An administration of the law which condones militant Carsonism and jails militant suffragists should find no favour in a land once the home of chivalry."

The Resolution

The resolution, which was moved by Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington from the chair and seconded by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, ran as follows: "That this meeting condemns the Liberal Government for having trifled with the question of constitutional liberty as applied to women, and demands that a Government measure be introduced this session giving votes to women. This meeting further demands that in the Amending Home Rule Bill a clause be introduced giving votes to Irishwomen upon the Local Government basis. This meeting also protests against the barbarity of the Cat and Mouse Act and the torture of forcible feeding as methods of coercing political prisoners who are fighting for the elementary right of self-government."

Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington

Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington welcomed Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in the name of the I.W.F.L., and paid a tribute to her work in building up and guiding the militant movement. She referred to the children on the platform as living testimony to Mrs. Lawrence's practical interest in the oppressed, and especially in feminine youth. She sketched the progress of the movement in Ireland since Mrs. Lawrence's last visit, in January, 1913. On the occasion of every fresh stab at the women by the politicians, protests had been made, always with the complete sympathy of the Irish people. The Irish M.P.'s had been heckled at every meeting to which women were admitted; they could no longer say that they were not reminded of the question in their constituencies. If Irishwomen were to be excluded from Home Rule, they would know the reason why. The Cat and Mouse Act had been stopped from operating in Ireland. She presented the prisoner's medal to Miss Houston, who was warmly greeted after her recent hunger-strike and unconditional release.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speech dealt with the woman's movement as the outcome of the movement for constitutional liberty of the last 100 years—a human movement, in which men and women who loved liberty should work together. The Irish party were false to the spirit of liberty in turning away from this movement. They were not going to get what they hoped for from Home Rule so long as women were left out. Unless men and women entered together into their inheritance, their ideal of Nationalism and democracy would fail. She depicted, with detailed illustrations, the pitiable plight of women under present conditions—the sufferings of mothers, the injustice done to widows under the Insurance Act, the horrors of preventable infant mortality. Housing—a problem specially urgent in Dublin—would never be solved until they got the point of view of the women who lived in those houses.

As to methods, she showed how the Duke of Wellington, a greater man than Mr. Asquith, had yielded Catholic emancipation to the threat of civil war. Was there any other way? Yes; if those who already had the vote had declared war of a constitutional character, then there

would have been no need to bring threats of civil war. If the Government and the Irish party were given to understand that they would not get the suffrages of the electors—if six by-elections were lost on this question—Mr. Asquith would introduce a Votes for Women Bill this session.

Irishwomen's militancy had so far been symbolic; but "you can't be sure that they are going to stop there. You didn't stop at militancy, and your daughters won't." Woman, the most law-abiding member of the community, had been turned into a militant by the realisation of the sense of race-motherhood. Let them make sacrifices in this greatest of all movements, and together prepare the world for the children to be brought into it.

Mr. James Connolly

Mr. James Connolly (Mr. Larkin's chief lieutenant) said he had been sent by the Irish Transport Workers' Union to convey their gratitude to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence for the services she had rendered to the workers of Dublin. From his standpoint, the working class were slaves, and the women of the working class were the slaves of slaves. Men could not know what women suffered; they could only guess. He looked on the vote as the symbol of the emancipation of the whole sex.

A Question Answered

Among the questions which followed was one from a supporter of the Irish party: "Was it a good way to conciliate the Irish electors, to attack the Party who had the complete confidence of four-fifths of these electors?" Mrs. Pethick Lawrence replied that the electors had no business to resent opposition to the Irish Party, but if they did, the only way to prevent it was to bring pressure themselves to bear on the Party to do justice to women.

THE BY-ELECTIONS

N.E. DERBYSHIRE

Polling Day: Wednesday, May 20
Candidates:—Mr. J. P. Houghton (Lib.)
Mr. James Martin (Lab.)
Major G. Harland Bowden (U.)

Figures at last Election:—
Mr. W. E. Harvey (Lab.) 7,838
Dr. S. Court (U.) 6,088

Labour Majority 1,750

Polling was proceeding in N.E. Derbyshire as we went to Press on Wednesday. Mr. Asquith sent a message to the Liberal candidate, last week, hoping he would be "returned to Parliament to support the Government in the consummation of the policy for which all the progressive forces in the country have so long been striving."

If Mr. Asquith means by this ambiguous message the policy pursued by the present Government, he is wrong about the "progressive forces" being on its side. The progressive forces of the country are those who believe in the freedom of women which Mr. Asquith and his Cabinet deny!

IPSWICH

Polling Day: Saturday, May 23
Candidates:—Mr. C. F. G. Masterman (L.)
Mr. S. J. C. Ganzoni (U.)
Mr. John Sourr (Boc.)

Figures at last Election:—
Sir D. F. Goddard (L.) 5,931
Rev. C. Silvester Horne (L.) ... 5,791
Mr. A. Churchman (U.) 5,447
Mr. B. H. Burton (U.) 5,407

Liberal Majority 344

The Suffragists have been carrying on a vigorous campaign in Ipswich, the militants adopting their usual policy of opposing the Government candidate. The most reprehensible hooliganism has been indulged in by bands of young fellows who mob and insult Suffragists of all kinds, whenever they appear, and any woman suspected of sympathy with them. These hooligans also attempt to break up other meetings; but while the closest police protection is given to Mr. Masterman, for instance, the women are left entirely unprotected, and the police make no attempt to interfere. How about chivalry as a substitute for the vote?

Mr. Masterman's Suffrage Record

We remind those electors who believe in the freedom of women as well as of men that Mr. Masterman voted against the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill in 1910 and again in 1912; that he supported widening amendments to the Bill which he knew would help to wreck it, and that he supported the Dickinson Bill last year which he knew would not be carried. Perhaps the worst part of his record is that relating to the forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners. When this shameful process was first introduced in the autumn of 1909, he defended it in the House of Commons, calling it "medical treatment" and saying that "something had to be done to prevent them committing suicide by starvation."

Such a candidate has no claim to the suffrages of any justice-loving elector.

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COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Offence Against a Girl

The *Yorkshire Evening Post* (May 7) reports case of a pony-driver, aged 16, charged at the Leeds Assizes with committing an offence against a girl of 12.

Sentence: *Bound over.*

Assault on a Woman

The *Glasgow News* (May 7) reports case of a man charged before Bailie MacKendrick at Clydebank Police Court with indecently assaulting a woman whose house he entered by the window. The Fiscal, Mr. G. J. Millar, said it was a most reprehensible case, and asked for a heavy sentence.

Sentence: *Fined £5, or 30 days' imprisonment.*

Attack on a Wife

The *Glasgow News* (May 7) reports case of a man charged with assaulting his wife by seizing her by the hair of her head and dragging her from the house to the street. He had been drinking, and committed the assault because his wife refused to give him more money for drink. There was a previous conviction for wife assault.

Sentence: *Fined £2, or 20 days' imprisonment.*

HEAVY SENTENCES

Stealing Flowers

The *Liverpool Weekly Mercury* (May 16) reports case of a woman charged at Liverpool Police Court with being a reputed thief, and with picking flowers from a grave in a churchyard.

Sentence: *Three months' hard labour.*

Stealing Jewellery

The *Morning Post* (May 12) reports case of an Army Coach, charged at Middlesex Sessions before Mr. Montagu Sharpe with stealing jewellery from two houses in Highgate. There were previous convictions.

Sentence: *Four years' penal servitude.*

Commercial Fraud

The *Manchester Guardian* (May 13) reports case of a book-keeper indicted for several charges of fraud. He pleaded guilty to certain defalcations, and to falsifying the books of the firm. The Judge described it as a serious commercial fraud.

Sentence: *Eighteen months in the second division.*

What is Persistent Cruelty?

How much and how often must a man knock his wife about before a magistrate will allow it to be called persistent cruelty? The *Pioneer* (May 15) gives the case of a man summoned by his wife at Woolwich Police Court before Mr. Hutton for persistent cruelty. The complainant said he was constantly threatening her, and had struck her three times during the past six months. She had had to hide an axe and chopper because he threatened her. When all the evidence had been heard, Mr. Hutton said he had no doubt defendant had treated his wife badly, but there was no evidence of persistent cruelty, and the summons was dismissed.

We should have more confidence in Mr. Hutton's estimate of this case, which may have been absolutely sound, if magistrates as a rule gave us any reason to feel confidence in their judgment where cases of wife-assault are in question. But a close study of police court cases has long led us to the conclusion that while magistrates (with one or two honourable exceptions, of course) can be trusted to give a maximum sentence of hard labour to a poor wretch found sleeping on a bench, or convicted of begging, they seem to regard wife-beating merely as an occasion for Christian mobility on the part of the wife, and summonses of this kind are either dismissed or treated with the utmost leniency.

In any case, whether cruelty is "persistent" or not, does it ever strike the magistrate to consider what he is sending the wife back to when he leaves her at the mercy of a man from whom axes and choppers have to be hidden?

OUR STANDARD OF VALUES

We are glad that an increasing number of people, thanks to the Suffrage movement, are re-adjusting their standard of values; and we welcome such a letter as appeared lately in the *Northampton Echo* over the signature of T. L. Collier, in the course of which the writer says:—

"If half the energy which the Press and the unthinking portion of the public use in condemning Suffragettes were used in insisting on the proper protection of women and children, there would be no need of the drastic moves of the Suffragettes to draw attention to such wrongs."

"Last week a lady was travelling on the Scotch express at night, and was awakened by a man trying to assault her. He had covered the small electric globes with his gloves, and the gloves were actually there when he was arrested. The lady pulled the communication cord, and as the train slowed up the man jumped out, but was caught. He was fined 40s."

"Since the public are content with such protection of woman's honour they must not be surprised that the Suffragettes are going to drive them into a different idea of values."

A CORRECTION

In our issue of May 8, under the heading, "Conviction Quashed," we referred to the case of a motor engineer at Hove the conviction against whom had been quashed by the higher court, and described the decision as due to a "slight irregularity," and spoke elsewhere of a "legal technicality."

It has been pointed out to us that the irregularity was, in fact, of a serious character, as certain of the jury had been influenced to give a verdict of guilty owing to the unintentionally improper intervention of the Clerk of Assize.

We think it only fair to make this clear, and to add, in view of the fact that further proceedings against the engineer may conceivably be taken on another count, that we express no opinion whatever on the question of his guilt or innocence in the matter referred to.

WOMEN'S ACADEMIC HONOURS

Mlle. Jeanne Duportal is the first woman to be awarded the degree of Docteur es Lettres by the Paris Sorbonne. The subject of her thesis was "The Illustration of Books in the Seventeenth Century."

A Doctor in Philosophy

Close upon Mlle. Duportal's success has followed that of Mlle. Leontine Zanta, the first Frenchwoman to receive the degree of Doctor in Philosophy. Last Tuesday she presented to the Faculty of Letters of the Paris University her thesis on "The Renaissance of Stoicism in the 16th Century" and "A 16th Century French Translation of the Enchiridion of Epictetus."

Deputy-Chairman of Convocation

At the meeting of Convocation of the University of London, last week, Miss Ellen Charlotte Higgins, B.A., was elected deputy-chairman.

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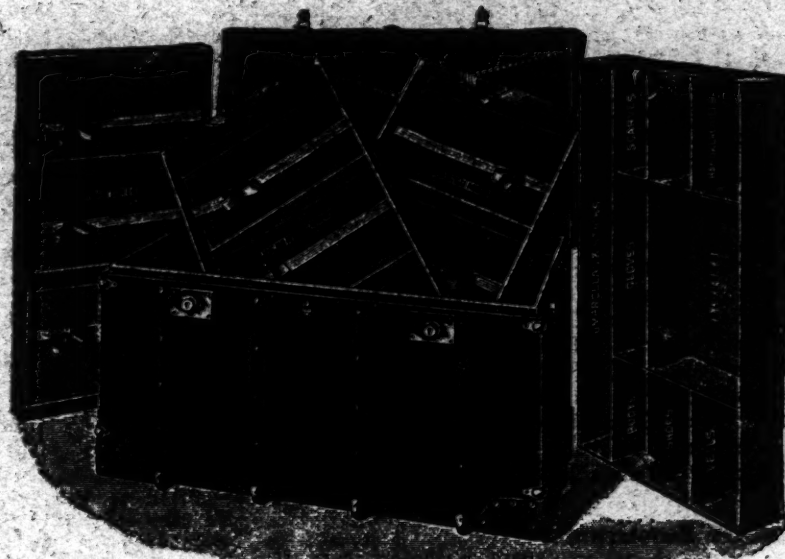
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DETECTIVES OUTWITTED

Mr. Lloyd George Seen Off at Paddington

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Last Friday, the Chancellor of the Exchequer went to Cardiff to give his support to Welsh national drama. Drama was not wanting, however, in his exit from London, for, as his motor car was slowing down at Paddington Station, a young and charmingly-dressed woman jumped lightly on to the step on the off-side of the car, put her head in at the window and began to discuss the Suffrage position with the startled occupant.

"I Don't Want You!"

Here was a chance, one would have thought, for a Liberal Cabinet Minister to gain information and make his own position clear. Not every day, surely, does heckling take so pleasant and friendly a form. But, no! The Chancellor of the Exchequer preferred to miss his opportunity.

"Go away!" he exclaimed, edging away from the face at the window. "Go away! I don't want you!"

"But I want you, Mr. Lloyd George!" was the cheery reply, and for the next minute or two, the Chancellor, looking as she said afterwards, "like a frightened bird flapping its wings at me," had to listen to outspoken criticisms of his attitude towards Woman Suffrage and of the iniquities of the Government with regard to the coercion of Militant Suffragists. Fate was doubly hard on him, for the porter who strove to release him from his agony was unable for several seconds to open the door of the car on the near side. Has that door been oiled since, we wonder?

Meanwhile, a slight and gentle little lady was strolling along the platform where the Cardiff train stood waiting. A novice in militant warfare could have detected Mr. Lloyd George's reserved carriage with its customary policeman on guard at the door. This Suffragist was no novice. Buried in her Westminster Gazette, she stood a little way off until the Chancellor, flanked by two detectives, came along the platform. Disarming suspicion by her pleasant smile, she strolled towards the approaching group, and when one of the detectives tried to intervene, waved him aside so reassuringly that the little bodyguard fell back under the impression that she was a personal friend.

"When are women going to get votes, Mr. Lloyd George?" she inquired, agreeably. He shrugged his shoulders impatiently, muttered something incoherent and hastened towards his carriage. Still looking amiable and very, very law-abiding, his tormentor got into the carriage after him and repeated her question.

"Soon, I hope!"

"Soon, I hope!" was his bitter reply, which we may take it was for the moment at least sincere.

Following up her advantage, the Suffragist asked him why in that case he had done nothing to further the cause, and when he was going to do something for the women, also with regard to married women's income-tax in the Budget. He edged as far away from her as possible and said, angrily, if not eloquently, "When you learn to behave yourselves."

At this point the detectives, warned by his infuriated countenance that something was wrong, asked the Chancellor if he knew the lady. "Certainly not!" he replied, and the usual ejection followed, the policeman on the platform assisting in the expulsion of the woman who had dared to raise her voice to a Liberal Minister on behalf of freedom.

The ruffled Chancellor settled down in the corner of the carriage furthest from the platform. Here, at least, he felt he was secure from further observation or interruption.

That Voice Again!

Suddenly, a voice that seemed familiar greeted him by name from the opposite platform, and looking out of the window he found himself confronted again by the woman who had boarded his motor car. This time, he felt and looked quite helpless. Now and then, he opened his mouth and shut it again without saying anything, as one does in a nightmare, while the clear young voice went cheerily on, reminding him remorselessly of his treason to the woman's cause, calling upon him to do something to retrieve his honour.

There is an end to everything, and the train to Cardiff started at last. But one cannot help wondering whether Mr. Lloyd George, when later in the day he had to watch while eight Suffragists were turned out of the Cardiff theatre in which, as one of them wittily observed, he was himself the "chief villain," did not come to the conclusion that life would be less harassing, after all, if women were enfranchised!

BANQUET AT THE FEAST

Mr. McKenna was not allowed to dine in peace at the dinner of the Cambridge University Liberal Club at which he was the guest, last Saturday evening. A woman Suffragist walked calmly into the hall and stood at the head table within a few feet of the Home Secretary, whom she addressed in clear and penetrating tones. She asked him how he dared sit at food while women of England were fasting in

prison. Adopting the usual curious tactics of the Cabinet Minister and declining to give a plain answer to a plain question, Mr. McKenna sat silent, and the woman continued to address him until she was forcibly ejected by two waiters.

INTERVIEW WITH A BISHOP

A deputation from the Sheffield W.S.P.U. had an interview with the Bishop of Sheffield last week, to protest against the forcible feeding of Suffragists.

Lady Isabel Margesson, who was the principal speaker, urged that forcible feeding was merely an attempt on the part of the Government to break down the principles of the women by breaking down the health of the body. She declared that forcible feeding was torture, and that all excuse for it as a means of preserving health was a mere cloak for torture, because forcible feeding was applied in many cases where it was not necessary to preserve health, such as when women were under remand and had only been hunger-striking twenty-four hours.

She maintained that the conscience of the community would not stand torture on any ground—even that of maintaining order.

The Bishop's Reply

The Bishop quoted official denials of the statements that forcible feeding was torture, and conveyed to the deputation the impression that he would make personal investigations, and that he desired above all things to establish the truth in the matter.

PICTURES UNDER POLICE PROTECTION

It is stated that several pictures have been withdrawn from the National Gallery, and that the remainder are being guarded by extra policemen.

When will the national sense of humour re-awaken and make the electors of the country see the folly of attempting to assert any longer that it is possible to govern women without their consent? We have given up hoping that the national sense of fair play will re-awaken!

WOMAN AWAKE.

An Edinburgh Suffragist recently drew a comparison between the wakefulness of woman and the sleepiness of man during the sermon period in church; and a German professor promptly responded by declaring that the men hypnotise themselves into sleep by watching the preacher too closely, while the women, through their power of detachment, are able to ignore the sermon and to observe the clothes of all the other women around them and so are able to keep wide awake. That is all very well; but there is no preacher in the train, and no one can go even a short journey in the train without observing that nearly every man traveller goes to sleep while nearly every woman traveller keeps awake. Man certainly is the sleepy sex as things are at present.

Is this because the price of safety to a woman, unprotected by the assured status of being an enfranchised citizen, is, like the price of liberty, eternal vigilance? Does she keep awake because she dare not go to sleep in a public place? Or is it because men's battle for freedom lies behind them, while women's is still raging?

MARRIED WOMEN AND INCOME TAX

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

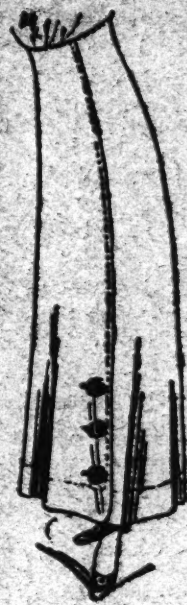
Dear Editors,—Whilst fully sympathising with your remarks on the above subject, I venture to think that you have not done justice to the fact that under the existing law there is no remedy for the husband who is able to claim a substantial abatement, but cannot persuade his wife to furnish the necessary particulars of her income which will alone enable him to do so. This gives the wife a very unfair advantage over the husband, and, in cases like my own, results in a serious loss of income. Having recently taken legal opinion, I am in a position to state that you are incorrect in asserting that the wife is "compelled" to disclose particulars of her income to her husband. As in the case of my wife, she can legally refuse to do so, and thus deprive the household of a considerable sum of money which would otherwise have been returned by the Income Tax Commissioners. If it be unjust to hand over the whole of the returned tax to the husband, so likewise it is unjust to give the wife the power of depriving the husband of his own share. In this matter the sexes may cry quits.

Yours, &c.,

[We fully agree with our correspondent that the tax upon marriage imposes hardship upon the husband as well as the wife, as was seen in the case of Mr. Mark Wilks, to which we frequently refer. But no unjust law is so hard upon the enfranchised man as upon the voteless woman, because in his case it is enforced with his consent, while in hers it is an act of coercion.—Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

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ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

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President: Lady Forbes-Robertson

An "At Home" will be given by the League on Friday, June 5, at 3 p.m., at the Arts' Centre, 93, Mortimer Street, W., at which Miss Eva Moore and Miss Athene Seyler will be the hostesses. The chair will be taken by Miss Margaret Halstan, and the speakers are Mr. L. Cope Cornford, the well-known writer and journalist, and Mrs. St. Clair Stobart. The speeches will be on "Women and the Empire," and Mrs. Stobart will give some of her experiences in time of war.

The League has undertaken a platform in Victoria Park on Sunday, May 24, when the East London Federation of Suffragettes are holding a demonstration. The speakers will include Miss Winifred Mayo, Miss Ines Bensusan, and other members of the League, and Mr. Joseph Clayton and Miss Evelyn Sharp have also promised to speak from our platform.

The arrangements for the Costume Dinner now include an entertainment by well-known artists after the dinner, the evening to conclude with a grand pageant of the characters represented. Tickets for the dinner are 10s. 6d., and tickets admitting to the Reception 5s., to include supper.

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Colours: Purple, White and Orange

Committee

Miss Lena Ashwell, Mrs. H. D. Harben
Mr. Gerald Gould, Miss Evelyn Sharp
Mr. Henry W., Mrs. Frederick Whelan
Nevinson, Mr. John Scurr
Mr. H. J. Gillespie, Hon. Treasurer
Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Hon. Secretary
Mr. Charles Gray, Secretary

Join US (United Suffragists)

Public Meeting.—As we go to press everything promises well for our public meeting, the seats in the Large Portman Rooms being entirely sold out some days ago, and those for the overflow meeting in the Small Portman Rooms selling fast.

Members' Meetings.—These will recommence after Whitsuntide, the first being held on Thursday, June 11, at 8.30 p.m., in the Small Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand. Speakers: Mr. W. L. George, Mr. John Scurr, and others. Chair: Mrs. Ayrton Gould. Admission free. Strangers, especially opponents, heartily invited.

Drawing-room Meetings.—Two have been arranged on June 10 and 11, by Mrs. Jopling-Rowe and Miss Horison respectively. Particulars next week.

Election Campaign.—Open-air meetings. Monday, May 25, 8 p.m.—Junction Heygate Street and Watworth Road; Miss Somers and Mr. E. R. Ransom.

Tuesday, May 26, 8 p.m.—Friar Street, West Southwark; Mrs. Gow and Mr. P. C. Darby.

Stroud Branch.—Hon. Sec., Miss Edelman. The meeting in the Corn Hall tomorrow (Saturday), at 8 p.m., promises well. Speakers: George Lansbury and Evelyn Sharp. Campaign going well.

Amersham Branch.—Hon. Sec., Mrs. Drinkwater. Mr. Lansbury spoke to a crowded meeting in a field here last week; whole families came, including old age pensioners and babies in perambulators. Members joining, and electors' campaign going well.

In Victoria Park.—The U.S. will have a platform next Sunday in Victoria Park, E., at the East London Suffragettes' Demonstration. Speakers: Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Charles Gray, Rev. J. Maillard, &c.

Speakers' Class.—The first was held on Tuesday last, and Miss Winifred Mayo, who has kindly undertaken to instruct, will hold the next after Whitsuntide, in the office at 3, Adam Street, on Tuesday, June 16, at 8 p.m. Fees: For members, 2s. 6d. for 10 lessons; for non-members, 3s. 6d. Single lessons, 6d. Persons may attend one lesson free as spectators only.

Badges.—U.S. pin-brooches, in the colours, on sale, 6d. each.

Whitsuntide Holidays.—The offices will close from 1 p.m. on Friday, May 29, till 10 a.m. on Thursday, June 4.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

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Lancashire Group

Miss Phyllis Lovell, organizer of the Lancashire Group of Fellows, is arranging a vigorous Summer Campaign in order to obtain new members and make new converts in all parts of the county. The following are the various ways in which she suggests help may be rendered:—

1. By joining the Cycle Corps, which will visit the outlying towns and villages on Saturday afternoons for the purpose of holding open-air evening meetings.

2. By lending a garden for a sale or meeting.

3. By giving an afternoon or evening At Home.

4. By undertaking a street pitch for the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

5. By undertaking a house-to-house paper sale.

6. By contributing to the special Lancashire Summer Campaign Fund.

EAST END DEMONSTRATION

The demonstration organised by the East London Federation of the Suffra-

gettes will take place in Victoria Park next Sunday afternoon, May 24. Among other Suffrage Societies also taking part will be the Actresses' Franchise League, the Forward Cymric League, and the United Suffragists, each of which will have a platform.

TAX-COLLECTOR OUTWITTED

The tax-collector who engaged the room in which women Hampdens meant to hold their meeting in Sheerness last week, and so arranged local matters as to prevent the public from coming to hear why Miss Raleigh refused to pay her taxes, found himself outwitted after all. For, very naturally, when the speakers arrived with their flags at the advertised time, so did the public; and what mattered a padlocked door and an intimation from the caretaker that the meeting was not to be held?

One of the most successful open-air meetings yet held in the course of the tax-resisting campaign was held forthwith!

Mrs. F. A. Steel to Resist Again

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, the first chapter of whose book, "On the Face of the Waters" was sold under duress for King's Taxes last year, announced at a meeting at the Suffrage Club on May 5 that this year the second chapter will be sold under similar compulsion.

A SUFFRAGE MEDITATION

Miss Janette Steer informs us that there will be a Suffrage meeting at 53, Sloane Gardens, S.W., every Monday afternoon at five o'clock, including a music-meditation and a short talk, at which members of the Fellowship will be welcome. There will be tea before the meeting; tickets, sixpence each.

AN INTERNATIONAL FEMINIST LIBRARY

Miss Alice Zimmern writes to remind us that the only International Feminist Library in England is the one at the International Franchise Club in Grafton Street, W. It contains over 1,000 volumes, English and foreign, to which members of the Club have free access, while the outside public may use the library as associate members for a small annual subscription, exchanging their books by post. New volumes are constantly being added, and the library should be of real service to those who wish to study any phase of the woman's movement.

FORCIBLE FEEDING

For the first time an article describing the horrors of forcible feeding has been contributed to a Welsh paper in Welsh. In *Y Seren A'R Cronid*, a paper with a large circulation in North Wales, edited by a supporter of the present Government, an account of the outrageous process and what it really means has appeared by Mr. Mansell-Moulin, F.R.C.S. The article, which appeared originally in the *Woman's Dreadnought*, was translated into Welsh by a member of the Forward Cymric League, and will thus reach a large number of Mr. Lloyd George's countrymen.

COMING EVENTS

"Votes for Women" Fellowship Meeting

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at Tranent Town Hall, Haddington, on May 25, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mr. George Lansbury and Mrs. Blair.

Other Meetings

There will be a public meeting, under the auspices of the National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, at the Holborn Hall on Friday, May 22, at 7.30 p.m. Speakers: Miss Cole, Miss Charlesworth, and Miss Esther Roper. Chair: Miss Gore-Booth.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union have arranged a Welsh procession for Sunday, May 24, to be headed by the Red Dragon banner. The procession will form up at 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, at 4.15. Meeting in Victoria Park at 5 p.m.

Mr. W. L. George will lecture on "Feminism and Passion" at the Caxton Hall, on May 25, at 8 p.m., under the auspices of the Women's Freedom League. Chair: Miss A. A. Smith.

The New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage will hold a Public Meeting in the N. C. Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, on Tuesday, May 26, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Mr. D. N. Dunlop, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, and Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage will hold a public At Home, on May 26, at the Caxton Hall, Westminster. Speakers: Mrs. Nott Bower and Miss Emily Growse. Chair: Miss M. A. Bell. Tea, 6d.

The Hon. Mrs. Franklin will lecture at the International Women's Franchise Club, on Wednesday, May 27, at 4.30 p.m.

The Fédération Abolitioniste Internationale. (For the Abolition of Official Regulation of Prostitution), will hold an International Conference at Portsmouth from June 15 to June 18.

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AN INTERNATIONAL VOTE

At a meeting of the International Council of Women in Rome, last week, a resolution reaffirming a motion in favour of Woman Suffrage, passed in Berlin in 1904, was passed unanimously. It was proposed by the president of the National Council of France and seconded by Frau Hamisch, vice-president of the International Council.

A Roman Suffrage Meeting

A crowded suffrage meeting was held in the National Theatre, Rome, last Friday afternoon. Mrs. Creighton spoke, and said that if women had votes much would be done to abolish the White Slave Traffic, the sweating of labour, and bad housing. Her criticisms of militancy produced loud protests from the audience, several of whom are reported to have left the meeting.

SUFFRAGIST EXHIBITORS

In giving the names of some of the Suffragist exhibitors in the Royal Academy in our last week's issue, we omitted that of Miss Olive Hookin, a well-known adherent, who is showing an oil painting (No. 1,300), called "Pan."

FROM THE PRESS
NERVES AT THE ACADEMY

The Royal Academy was suffering from "nerves" yesterday. It was very noticeable that visitors persisted in keeping near the middle of the room, viewing the pictures as far from the railing as possible. There were no policemen apparent, or, more correctly, there were no apparent policemen, but everybody was under suspicion by everybody else, and every man in a lounge suit ran the risk of being pointed out covertly by others as a disguised emissary from Scotland Yard. And obviously every visitor was on the look out for Suffragettes and had one ear always on the alert for the sound of crashing glass. The frames of the two damaged pictures in the main gallery still hang pathetically empty on the walls of the main gallery, inscribed, "Temporarily withdrawn." Standard.

OUR COUNTRY COUSINS

Standing in front of me on Tuesday in Holborn, waiting for the procession to pass, was a little old lady from the country. Her comments were numerous and quaint. Once she turned to me and said: "I am glad to see the soldiers with their swords ready, in case any of those dreadful Suffragettes try to make a disturbance."—Daily Sketch.

THE PRESS JOKE

As the militant suffragette might say, "The same old Holloway, week in, week out."—Globe.

As a consequence of recent outrages at the Royal Academy, the Council is reported to be testing "unbreakable glass." No doubt the Indestructible Paint Company is also circularising artists.—Punch.

"WOMEN AND THE ULSTER COVENANT."
"Action That May Be Effective"?

In the current quarterly issue of the "Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review," Lady Selborne comments on the declaration sent round by the Primrose League and Tariff Reform League, committing the women who sign it to take or support "any action that may be effective" to prevent Home Rule, and to prevent "the armed forces of the Crown being used to deprive the people of Ulster of their rights."

A Militant Declaration

"This," writes Lady Selborne, "is a militant declaration, and I cannot help feeling surprised at seeing the names of several very excellent anti-Suffragist ladies appended to it. They profess to be terrified at the possible effect women voting may have upon questions of peace and war, yet with a light heart they pledge themselves in a matter which may easily lead to bloodshed. And the men who have asked them to do this are, most of them, men who refuse to give women votes for members of Parliament. I wonder by what arguments they justify to themselves this attempt to destroy an Act of Parliament, passed by a body duly elected by males, with the help of female influence."

"For that is the part they cast for us. We are not fit to decide these questions ourselves, but we may use our influence to persuade men to act against their own judgment—because clearly if the man's judgment is already in favour of the course proposed, our influence is entirely superfluous."

"If men desire our political co-operation, and in times of difficulty and danger invariably they do desire it, let them give us the one legitimate, recognised, and straightforward political weapon—the vote. Then, and not till then, can we conscientiously promise to take 'action that may be effective' in a political crisis."

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

- Mistresses' Franchise League**, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Artists' Suffrage League**, 259, King's Road, S.W.
- Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association**, 9, Grafton Street, W.
- Catholic Women's Suffrage Society**, 55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
- Church League for Women's Suffrage**, 4, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
- Civil Service Suffrage Society**, 19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
- Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association**, 44, Dover Street, W.
- East London Federation of the Suffragettes**, 321, Roman Road, Bow, E.
- Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies**, 31, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.
- Forward Cymric Suffrage Union**, 53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
- Free Church League for Women's Suffrage**, 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane.
- Friends' League for Women's Suffrage**, Walden, Gloucester.
- Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society**, 2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
- International Suffrage Shop**, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Woman Suffrage Alliance**, 7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Women's Franchise Club**, 9, Grafton Street, W.
- Irishwomen's Franchise League**, Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Reform League**, 23, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association**, 163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation**, 23, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Society**, 27, Donegal Place, Belfast.
- Jewish League for Woman Suffrage**, 32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
- League of Justice**, 22, South Molton Street, W.
- Liberal Women's Suffrage Union**, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.
- London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage**, Chestnut Gate, Ealing.
- Marchers' Qui Vive Corps**, Dunston, Petworth, Sussex.
- Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage**, Temp. Address: 18, Cornwall Mansions, Chelsea, S.W.
- Men's League for Woman Suffrage**, 126, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
- Men's Political Union for Women's Emancipation**, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
- Men's Society for Women's Rights**, 65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.
- Munster Women's Franchise League**, 84, Grand Parade, Cork.
- National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society**, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
- National Political League**, Bank Buildings, 14, 4, James Street, S.W.
- National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies**, 11, St. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
- New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage**, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
- Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage**, 6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
- Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage**, 11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
- Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage**, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.
- Spiritual Militancy League**, 46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
- Suffrage Atelier**, Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- Suffrage Club**, 3, York Street, St. James', S.W.
- "Suffrage First" Committee**, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee**, 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
- United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies**, 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.
- United Suffragists**, 5, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.
- Votes for Women Fellowship**, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. Lancashire Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Alnedale, Lancs.
- Woman Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society**, 33, Sutherland Avenue, W.
- Women's Freedom League**, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom**, 10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
- Women's Social and Political Union**, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
- Women's Tax Resistance League**, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
- Women Teachers' Franchise Union**, 27, Marlborough Road, Lee, S.E.
- Women Writers' Suffrage League**, Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road, W. — Sunday morning, May 24, 11. Dr. Saleeby. "The First Decade of Modern Eugenics (1904-1914)". 7. Dr. Stanton Coit. "Jesus Christ." Wednesday, May 27, Dr. Stanton Coit. "Five Poets of Democracy." (IV.) Mrs. Cheyne, Mr. Wilfred Gibson. — Alfred Cloake, Hon. Sec.

HIGHER THOUGHT CENTRE, 40, Courtfield Gardens, Cromwell Road, S.W. — 11.30, Mrs. Annie Rix Mills; 7. Rev. Todd Ferrier. — Doré Gallery, 35, New Bond Street, 11.15, Miss Helen Boulois.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

FORWARD CYMBIC SUFFRAGE UNION — Sunday, May 24, Welsh Procession, headed by Red Dragon banner, forms up at 4.00, Old Ford Road, Bow, at 4.15; starts 4.30. Meeting, Victoria Park, 5 p.m. Platform No. 6. Speakers will wear national costume.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE — Tuesday, May 26, at 8 p.m., New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. "Democratic Vistas," Mr. D. N. Dunlop (Editor of the "Path"). The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE — Public At Home, Carlton Hall, Westminster, Tuesday, May 26, at 3 p.m. Chairman, Miss M. A. Bell. Speakers, Mrs. Nott Bower, on "Local Government and Women's Suffrage," Miss Emily Grosve, on "A Woman Candidate for the U.D.C." Collection. Tea, 6d. League Offices: 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

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